Daily Report

East Europe

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Government Rules Oil Workers Strike Illegal

AU0511103491 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 5 (ATA)—Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gramoz Pashko, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy, Drini Mezini, minister of mining and energy resources met on November 4 afternoon with representatives of independent oil trade unions and with the presidency of the independent trade union of the intensive oil processing plant in Ballsh, Fier District. In this meeting they talked on the situation created as a result of the strike of the working people of oil distribution in Ballsh and discussed on the demands they have forwarded. For this both sides reached a consensus, except for the demand that the workers receive a remuneration of over 3 monthly wages from the overfulfilment of the realised profit. The representatives of the government explained to those present in the meeting that this demand is groundless and that the strike has very grave consequences for the country.

After this meeting, on the same day a special meeting of the government was organized where they analysed the situation created and the aftermath of the strike if it continues. The situation with the combustibles supply and fluid fuel is rather grave, those present in the meeting underlined. On national scale the reserves are sufficient only for two or three days whereas in some districts such as Saranda, Pogradec and in the north-eastern zone, the quantities of fuel are fewer.

The interruption of the supply with fuel would suspend the transport of the people, food, wood for heating, the production of bread, the heating of hospitals and creches and the continuation of production in many plants and factories.

The Council of Ministers jumped at the conclusion that this strike, which may lead to the paralysis of all the country's life, is illegal and fully runs counter to the legislation on the strikes, adopted by the People's Assembly. The government ordered that the competent organs should stop the strike so that work starts immediately for the supply of the economy and the people with fuel and combustibles.

Government Urges Prrenjas Miners To End Strike

AU0411162691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Esat Qyshlari report]

[Text] The government's efforts to stabilize the extremely grave economic situation throughout the country have also been reflected in the work of the Pluralist Executive Committee of Librazhd District. The main aims have been to enforce the Land Law, to supply the people with bread and food, and to tackle problems of public order. So far, 45 percent of the land has been distributed. All the Italian aid has been distributed, and priority has been given to supplying remote areas that are cut off in winter, such as Vilan, Gurshpate, Orenje, Sopot, Qarrishte, etc. Efforts are also being made to put in working order the bakeries in (?Pocivalle), which will supply bread to all the villages of Prrenjas.

However, as we have said in reports broadcast recently, it has been very hard to stabilize the situation in Librazhd District. The reason for this has been the general strike announced by the Union of Independent Miners' Trade Unions, which enters its sixth day today. The production and transportation of iron and chrome ore has been suspended. The reason for the strike is the failure to satisfy some of the miners' demands expressed in a petition to the district's Pluralist Executive Committee, which among other things calls for the dissolution of the committee, the dismissal of incompetent managers, a bread supply for villages, housing for miners, a regulation of working conditions, etc. The opposition political parties also support these demands. They declared in a statement issued on 14 October that if these demands were not met they would withdraw the members they elected to the Executive Committee, which they did.

The committee's regular meeting on 1 November did not take place because the members of the committee proposed and elected by the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Agrarian Party refused to take part. Qemal Alla, chairman of the Pluralist Executive Committee, has issued a statement emphasizing among other things that the political parties and the trade unions have not provided the necessary assistance for calming the situation. The departure of the committee members is illegal. The miners' strike is illegal, and its organizers are responsible for the damage it has done. There will be no pay for the days of the strike. The statement finally calls on political forces and the trade unions to resume work and to stabilize the situation in the Prrenjas area.

Alia Meets Independent Trade Unionists, Veterans

AU0311152591 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 3 (ATA)—These days the president of the republic, Ramiz Alia, received in separate working meetings working people, trade unionists and veterans.

In these meetings they have raised questions that have to do with the stability of the country's life, problems facing certain working collectives. They have also discussed on the backing up of for the economic reform, etc. [sentence as received]

In the meeting with a group of workers, members of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of the clothing enterprise in Gjirokaster, the latter voiced their worries put up for solution to the government and on the strike

they have been staging for some days now. Besides others they underlined that the backing up of the reform is a fruitful alternative to pull our paralyzed economy out of the crisis. This reform should be supported without reserves although, as it is natural, it is associated with inevitable social problems .

In another meeting, a group of veterans of Tirana raised problems that have to do with their treatment and history. They voiced their indignation over the groundless attacks launched against history, the damage of the monuments, memorial slabs, etc. They demanded a more correct economic treatment of the veterans, war invalids and a more defined status for them.

President Ramiz Alia, exchanging views on the questions raised, said that will try to influence in the competent organs for the solution of the correct problems. He underlined the fact that genuine democracy requires culture and culture means among other things respect and objective view on history. He hailed the fact that the veterans support the democratic transformations in Albania and the initiatives for national conciliation and unity.

Public Order Ministry Reports Arrests

AU0411203691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Public Order Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 4 November]

[Text] The Tirana public order organs arrested on 2 November Lutfi Isuf Hida, from Skrep i Shengjergjit, for the murder of the cook Fiqri Hima. They have also identified the thieves of the equipment of a private car and goods from several several apartments. A search is under way for the following four: Sokol Asqer Usha, Eduard Flamur Daullahu, Driton Petrit Agaliu, and Fatmir Haki Kokona.

The Shkoder public order organs arrested Kamber Zenel Isufi on 2 November, because 12 sticks of dynamite, fuses, and a number of 56 millimeter bullets were found in his apartment. On the same day, the same organs arrested Gezim Preng Nikolla, from Rubik; Frrok Gjergj Xhaferi, from Rreshen; and Luigj Zef Doda, from Gur Spac, following their seizure by the Transport Police as they were setting the seats of a train on fire. On 3 November, these organs arrested Nikolin Bernard Kabashi, with two previous convictions, and Dashamir Ramazan Drishti, with one previous conviction, because, in collaboration with Fitim Kadri Uka, they stole a car belong to Diber District Court and crashed it in Shkoder castle. One citizen was killed in this accident; Fitim was wounded and died later in hospital.

In Elbasan, the public order organs detained Bajram Abdullah Zenuni, Gezim Hekuran Lala, Astrid Nexhip Kalulli, and Petrit Sabri Emini, because they broke into and stole from a ready-made clothing store. The same organs arrested Luan Ibrahim Bitosi and Kelmend Anastas Pellumbi for thefts from two citizens.

Progress in Land Distribution Reported

AU0311152891 Tirana ATA in English 0956 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 3 (ATA)—According to the latest information of the Ministry of Agriculture, the distribution of the land to all the peasants' families is continuing with more preoccupation in all the districts of the country. There are districts which in the last week of October proceeded with higher rates. Hence, Sarande District has succeeded in distributing 64 percent of the acreage of land occupying the first place among all the districts of the country. Then comes the district of Permet, Elbasan, Tirana, Lushnje, Gramsh, etc.

Some districts are still lagging behind, very far from the country's average, as Shkoder, Diber, Korce, Kruje, Lezhe, etc.

The view that the land should be given according to the limits they have had on the eve of collectivization does not stand also for the simple fact that demographic changes have occurred and that the land on the eve of collectivization was given free of charge to the majority of the peasants' families by the Agrarian Reform of 1946 and there is no exclusive right to property upon it.

Response to Leaflets Call for 'Fratricidal War'

AU0311183691 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Oct 91 p 3

[Luan M. Rama article: "A Voice Calling for Fratricide?!..."]

[Text] A friend came to my office a few days ago. I had not met him for a long time, because he had been kept busy by his political work for an opposition party. I was therefore surprised to see him. He was upset. He held an envelope in his hand, on which was written: "The Albanian Republican Party, 251 Main Street, Hackensack, New Jersey, 07601." [preceding phrase in quotation marks published in English] I opened the envelope, and found inside dozens of leaflets printed in Albanian, with the heading: "Rallying cry (i.e. a summons) for the salvation of Albania ["Shqypnis," archaic northern dialect form] from the Byzantine communism of the Romanian Vlahs and Lab parrots." I stared at my friend for some kind of explanation, but he gestured to me to go on reading.

I read this leaflet, into which a rabid group of nationally blind anti-Albanians had poured all their spiritual filth, and immediately decided to write these lines, so that my compatriots, too, will learn what macabre and deadly plans are being concocted at the expense of themselves and Albania by certain pipsqueaks in the service of nobody knows whom, and who pretend to be Albanians purely and simply because they speak Albanian. The

entire text of the rallying cry in question is drenched in anti-Albanian and antinational hysteria, just as if it had been cooked up in the Serboslav kitchens of the Karadjordjevices and Milosevices. However, without further comment, let me quote a few extracts:

"Rise Albanians, rise young and old and take to the streets of the towns and villages and to our mountains," the rallying cry begins, "so that you, too, will win freedom and national independence, for you have been in the hands of foreigners for 47 years and are only their slaves." [Quotations from the rallying cry are partially in northern dialect]

I think that all comment is superfluous. Everything is more than clear. When you first read these lines, you think you are dealing with some sick quixotic joke. However, when you go on to read the instructions for real action, you realize the problem is not as simple as you think. Specifically, the text of the rallying cry continues:

"United in demonstrations, and with strikes, hunger protests, sabotage, and whatever means lie at hand, it is up to you to destroy the last redoubt of communist darkness in Europe."

"More than 5 million Albanians oppressed in Yugoslavia wait impatiently for the overthrow of communism and the communist party, now the Socialist Party of Albania."

The aim is thus clear—to destroy the Socialist Party through demonstrations, strikes, and sabotage of all kinds. Very nice! At the end comes, "Long live Albania!"...

Moreover, to achieve this, the leaflet trifles with the patriotic feelings of our blood brothers living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, inciting them against the Socialist Party and a significant proportion of the population living in Albania. However, the rabid anti-Albanianism of the Albanian "republicans" with their temporary base in the United States does not rest content here. It aims to divide the nation and to incite fratricidal war among the Albanians, whom they divide into Gegs and Tosks, because, as they put it, "The Geg country [Gegnija] is dying and is being systematically destroyed by the communist Vlahs and Labs." (!) Oh God, what kind of people exist on this planet! How can anyone go as far as this? And they are not ashamed to call themselves Albanians! What kind of Albanians are you wretched people, making such mischief? In whose interest is it, at the end of this century, to turn into an arena of fratricidal war a country of people who keep their word, a country of good people and of Albanians who cannot remember any time in all their thousands of years of history when they have attacked anybody, although they have been subjected to innumerable injustices, and who have lived in peace and harmony with all their age old neighbors?

It is genuinely painful, but we are forced to admit that such people still exist, such as certain "republicans" with their headquarters in the United States. One must ask what kind of republic these people want, because their rag rails against the great Albanian Fan Noli and his supporters in general. This is what they write about this question: "Perhaps few of you over there (i.e. in Albania) realize what treachery was committed against our race by the Fan Noli-Bolsheviks, so-called Albanians."

One of the age old ambitions of the Albanians' enemies has been to split them into Gegs and Tosks, to divide them in order to rule them more easily. They have never achieved this and never will. Albanians, regardless of their political and religious convictions, regardless of where they live, whether within or beyond the present state borders, remain Albanians because they are united by blood and language and by customs and traditions that they have preserved down the centuries in their struggle to survive. Therefore, gentlemen, wherever you are, do not cherish vain hopes. You attack Fan Noli and call him a Bolshevik solely because he was a Tosk, thinking that you will thereby sow division, but you are making a serious mistake. Fan Noli, and before him Ismail Qemali; Abdyl, Naim, and Sami Frasheri; Hasan Tahsini, and all the fighters for freedom from the south of Albania who came after them did just as much for Albania as Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Mehmet Shpendi, Pashko Vasa, Ndre Mjeda, Gjergj Fishta and tens of thousands of others. Everything that they and the generations that followed them did is redolent of Albanianism and patriotism. "Geg and Tosk, from hill and plain, never can be divided; Albania is one, and one tongue unites us all," the poet wrote. Even though he was from the North (thus, a Geg), Albania to him was one.

One other thing, you cannot fail to be struck by the rallying cry's insults aimed not only against the former leaders of the Albanian Workers Party and the leaders of the Socialist Party but also against the leaders of the opposition parties, such as Sali Berisha, Azem Hajdari, Gramoz Pashko, Sabri Godo, Vangjush Gambeta, etc. What is the purpose of all this? I think it is not difficult to understand. The authors of the "message" from overseas want Albania to be turned into an arena where Albanian blood is shed. For this purpose, they strike blows against both sides. On one hand, they attack the Socialist Party and its supporters, and go so far as to explicitly state: "If blood is not shed, the now ruling Tosk communists will never surrender power, because they are totally tied and sold to Serbia."

I am immediately reminded of the charges leveled against the president, as if he were an agent of the Serbs!... I am reminded of the trade unions' peremptory strike calls, the calls of the opposition trio for a war against former communists, the Laborites, the Enverites, and I do not know who else!... I consider such coincidences to be accidental, or perhaps premeditated insinuations from abroad designed to discredit the opposition leaders, too. Even though a copy of the rallying cry in question was addressed specifically to the Democratic

Party's deputies from Shkoder, I still call this a coincidence. As for the article by Alfons Zeneli in the newspaper KOHA JONE [published in Lezhe] on 11 October 1991 under the banner headline, "The North Under the Iron Heel of the South," which fans the same fire of division, I do not know what to say. I only know that many people from the south of Albania live in Lezhe, and that I have never heard of any quarrels with the local northerners. On the other hand, I am sorry that the comrades of the editorial board, especially Nikolle Lesi who is a friend of mine, permitted such an anti-Albanian provocation. As for the article's author, I do not imagine that he shares the views of Luan A. Isufi, the person who signs the rallying cry issued in the name of the Albanian Republican Party, with its temporary base in the United States.

Albania is living through difficult times. The Albanians in Yugoslavia are in a much more serious position, because they are still under the jackboot of the Serbs, who are trying to preserve their sway by all means. The sole alternative is peace and pan-national understanding, general stability, and the unity of Albanians wherever they live in the name of the sacred national ideal. However, can this be achieved by strikes, demonstrations, and repeated ultimatums? Can this be achieved by insults by calls for war against each other for the sake of holding office? We know whose interests such calls serve!

Let everybody judge calmly, dispassionately, and without diseased self-centeredness, in order not to become a tiny tool in evil hands. Let everybody act as he thinks best in the service of Albania, Kosovo, the entire nation, and genuine democracy.

National Assembly Holds Session, Elects Officials

Stefan Savov Elected Chairman

AU0411132691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1310 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] [Announcer] We switch to the National Assembly hall where the results of the election of the National Assembly chairman will be announced:

[Deputy Vladimir Abadzhiev] A commission consisting of Aleksandur Pramatarski, Khristo Markov, Mariela Mikheva, Kiril Zhelev, and [name indistinct] announce the following results:

Some 235 deputies have voted. No torn ballots have been found. There was one ballot on which more than one name appeared. There were no ballots with all candidates' names erased. Thus, the result is as follows:

Mr. Stefan Dimitrov Savov—130 votes. [applause]

Mr. Yanaki Boyanov Stoilov—104.

On the basis of this result, as well as Article 76, paragraph three and Article 86, paragraph one of the Bulgarian Constitution, the National Assembly has elected Stefan Dimitrov Savov chairman of the National Assembly. Good Luck! [applause]

Deputy Chairman Elected

AU0411205891 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 4 (BTA)—After several-hour-long debates and several breaks, this evening the M.P.'s [members of parliament] elected deputy chairmen of the National Assembly - Ms. Snezhana Botusharova of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF—SDS in vernacular] and Mr. Kadir Djalil Kadir of the ethnic Turks' Movement For Rights and Freedoms [MRF—DPS in vernacular]. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] did not nominate a candidate of its own and did not take part in the voting.

MRF leader Ahmed Dogan said in the parliamentary lobbies that he was going to submit a bill on BSP's outlawing. "I implicitly mentioned the motives in the speech I made today in parliament," he told a BTA reporter. In his speech Mr. Dogan described the BSP as the culprit for Bulgaria's national catastrophe.

The parliamentary Union for Social Democracy did not take part in the vote for deputy chairmen of parliament and refused to nominate candidates, though their names were announced - sociologist Chavdar Kyuranov and lawyer Velko Vulkanov, the latter being not affiliated to any party.

Initially the Socialists wanted to set up a contact group which would smooth out the differences between the motions made by the Socialists and the UDF for the election of the parliamentary leadership. The Socialists moved for putting the number of deputy chairmen to the vote first. Earlier the press had reported that the BSP would insist on electing more than three deputy chairmen of parliament. The motion of the UDF, supported by the M.P.'s of the MRF, envisaged three deputy chairmen representing each of the three parliamentary forces.

The motion of the UDF was carried.

The UDF nominated its candidate. But the Socialists refused to nominate theirs. "This is not a question of procedure, but of policy," Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy floorleader of the parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, said.

When the MRF nominated its candidate for deputy chairman, Mr. Gincho Pavlov of the Socialists' faction declined his nomination - something unknown in the parliamentary practice. UDF leader Filip Dimitrov pleaded for giving the BSP a chance to think over once more the nomination of a candidate.

Ms. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the BSP parliamentary faction, made a special declaration. "We have been presented the nomination of a member of a parliamentary group the legitimacy of which is unclear," she said referring to the MRF. According to preliminary data the Constitutional Court will hold a sitting to decide on the legitimacy of the MRF on the day after tomorrow.

Although the M.P.'s of the BSP parliamentary faction did not take part in the vote, 132 M.P.'s balloted for Ms. Snezhana Botusharova and Mr. Kadir Kadir, there were no votes against, and the two were elected in the Bureau of Parliament. This vote, as well as today's parliamentary work as a whole, showed clearly that the parliamentary factions of the UDF and the MRF worked in close cooperation.

The new deputy chairwoman of parliament, 36-year-old Snezhana Botusharova, is a lawyer. She was a deputy in the previous National Assembly. Mr. Kadir Djalil Kadir, 51, is also a lawyer. Mr. Kadir, then called Denis Kumanov, was in the previous National Assembly too and chaired the Committee for Labor, Social Protection and Insurance.

Tomorrow parliament will accept the resignation of the cabinet.

Party Leaders Address Assembly

AU0411174691 Sofia BTA in English 1631 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 4 (BTA)—The first sitting of parliament started with a little scandal. Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), said in his address that "communism is going inevitably away and should sink into oblivion but on leaving the political scene, the Communist Party's derivatives are continuously making attempts at renewal using the whole range of political

and social mimicry." "To prevent any relapse to a totalitarian regime, we must help them find their real place in the political life of today's Bulgaria," he said. According to Mr. Dogan, this will become possible only when "the whole Socialist Party rather than individual persons—puppets of history, is placed in the dock." Any other action will prolong the agony of the transition period, Mr. Dogan said. He blamed the Socialist Party for shifting the centre of political problems in the direction of interethnic problems, interetnic tensions and interethnic conflicts in certain regions in Bulgaria.

This part of Mr. Dogan's speech was hailed with applause coming, however, from the MP's [members of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces which commands, though a slim one, a majority in parliament, and from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. The socialist MP's did not conceal they were displeased. Mr. Dogan ended his speech with a declaration which, as he said, the MRF, is tired of repeating,: The MRF is for guaranteeing Bulgaria's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the socialist faction, took the floor after Mr. Dogan. The presiding MP said that no speeches were envisaged after the faction leaders' addresses. Anyway, Mr. Pirinski quoted Article 1 of the Constitution which reads, "The entire power of state shall derive from the people. The people shall exercise this power directly and through the bodies established by the Constitution. No part of the people, no political party nor any other organization, state institution or individual shall usurp the expression of the popular sovereignty." He was interrupted by chants "BCP. BCP. [Bulgarian Communist Party]" The microphones were switched off and practically nothing more of Mr. Pirinski's objection could be heard.

This incident did not prevent the further work of the first plenary sitting of the second parliament elected in multiparty elections after Todor Zhivkov was removed. Last year there were also some troubles with MP's of the MRF. Nationalistic parties' sympathizers rallied in Veliko Turnovo at the time when the Grand National Assembly held its first sitting there. Today it was quiet around the building of parliament.

The sitting arrangement in the present parliament is the same as last year—it was agreed upon by the three parliamentary forces. The socialists are in the left-hand side again but the faction of their coalition is called Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy. The Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces is in the right-hand side. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms occupies the back seats in the middle. Mr. Ahmed Dogan said in his speech that "if last year a centre was necessary in parliament, now it would be rather harmful." In Mr. Dogan's own words the accelerated process of democratization requires a bipolar parliament dominated by the democratic forces.

Today's first sitting is attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev and the whole cabinet. The first hours of the sitting parliament worked more energetically compared with last year's first debates of the Grand National Assembly. There was no useless pomposity. By tradition, the first sitting was opened by the oldest MP. After the MP's pledged to defend the interests of the people, the leaders of the three parliamentary forces delivered speeches.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) which won the elections, pointed out that the UDF will follow its platform but it is ready to listen to all opinions expressed by the others. "Now we can say that the time of totalitarianism is finally over but we know there are hard times ahead because its heritage cannot be eliminated overnight," he said. He also said that the UDF will do everything which is allowed under the Constitution and the country's law to cope with any difficulties and attempts to obstruct parliamentary work. Our positions are predictable, Mr. Dimitrov said. He believes that this is a guarantee for stability in parliamentary work. Mr. Filip Dimitrov made his speech without reading prepared notes. He was often interrupted by applause.

The speech of Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party which is now in opposition, was often punctuated by shouts of disapproval. He described as impressive the fact that one third of the electorate placed trust in the BSP and thanked the BSP supporters from the parliamentary forum. According to Mr. Lilov the election results are not the Socialist Party's "last waltz," as a recent popular hit goes. "Look at what is happening in Poland," he said but the majority in the hall booed his statement. The BSP leader paid special attention to civil peace in his speech. Just like last year, he suggested "to turn over the leaf of the past," "to put an end to any political repressions" and "to stop the cyclic recurrence of violence in Bulgaria's political life." To which the majority responded by booing Mr. Lilov again. Last week the BSP's leadership came out with a declaration claiming that Socialists were being persecuted but have not presented any evidence so far. Mr. Lilov also said that there is no alternative to the economic reform but there are alternative ways as to its implementation. "We reject the allegations that we are inciting interethnic hatred," he said and added that "someone else is making up to the ethnic organizations." In the address he made yesterday to the nation, President Zhelyu Zhelev said that the ethnic egoism and the populist nationalistic propaganda conducted by certain parties can only enhance the Turkish community's isolation but did not specify which these parties are.

The MP's proceeded with the election of bureau of parliament at their very first sitting. There had been no preliminary agreements on today's agenda or any controversial issues as it was often the case with the Grand National Assembly.

BSP Faction Behavior in New Assembly Viewed

AU0511115191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Oct 91 p 6

[Stefan Prodev untitled article]

[Text] Many people are interested in the behavior of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] faction in the new National Assembly. It is difficult to address this a priori, because legislative behavior does not depend on the left side of the hall only. However, it could be taken for granted that the behavior of the BSP faction will not resemble that of the former opposition. In other words, the red deputies will behave in a manner worthy of and in accordance with their self-esteem as a real legislative power.

Regardless of the irritants who will disturb the normal work of the legislature, we can already say that the Socialists and their allies will not allow the National Assembly to turn into a battlefield of passions and interests. They will not organize rallies such as the "blue rallies" of the gentlemen from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], will not chant insults, stomp their feet, leave the sessions, climb up the balconies, "occupy" by force the legislature's microphone, play games of "hunger strikes," incite crowds of vagabonds at the legislature's entrance, threaten their opponents, revile and beat each other, curse anyone, publicly relinquish their past, use street gestures and, of course, they will never offend the legislature's dignity.

However, simultaneously, it must be known that the Socialists in the National Assembly and their colleagues in the coalition will never sacrifice their public positions for using the bon ton as an end in itself. Their behavior will not disturb their work, but it will also not serve events and decisions that violate democracy and the people's interests. It will not merely be behavior of well-mannered people, but the behavior of citizens who know what they want. In this sense, the so-called "majority" should not expect from them any compromises and concessions only because of those good manners. Good manners are a part of politics but not politics itself. Therefore, the preliminary notions of the "dark blue" members who, only God knows why, think that the new legislature will approve easily and quickly everything that is been put on the agenda are not serious. Politics is a struggle of opinions and real interests, and this must be remembered. The legislature is a legislature and not a school for maidens. In this sense, let no one expect an easy life under its roof.

The difference between the "majority" and "minority" in the new Assembly is almost negligent, and this provides the opportunity for a useful work in the name of the common national interests. Therefore, it will be harmful if some people of the "majority" expect to rely on their formal power, because then the Assembly will become a wrestling mat and will waste precious time while using their crude voices. The BSP parliamentary group does not appreciate those voices. It seeks dialogue and solutions rather than scandals.

Union Leader Petkov on Relations With Assembly

AU0511134891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Interview with Prof. Kryustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Petur Donchev, immediately following a news briefing given by the confederation in Sofia--live]

[Text] [Donchev] I returned only a few minutes ago from the news briefing given by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], at which very many questions were asked, and convincing and exhaustive answers were given, of course. I am now with KNSB Chairman Prof. Krustyu Petkov. We know that the subject of today's briefing was the KNSB's stance in the present sociopolitical situation. After its meeting today, the government is due to tender its resignation to the National Assembly. The National Assembly is now beginning its work. In your statement at the news briefing, you mentioned that mistakes may be made in politics, but mistakes are forgiven. What did you have in mind?

[Petkov] I was referring to the deal, behind the scenes, that the economic team of the outgoing government struck with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation concerning the miners' strike. By doing this, they betrayed the economic reform, its principles, and its logic, the reform that the ministers themselves were carrying out. If they have realized their mistake, there is nothing bad in continuing to cooperate with such people in the future.

[Donchev] You said that the National Assembly has started work. Do you really fear anti-trade union legislation, a point that you stressed at the briefing?

[Petkov] I said that I admit the possibility of such actions, which may be dictated by a purely Thatcherist policy or by political calculations. In both cases, the authors of such draft laws will make a mistake, because instead of being constructive, they will start to destroy, since they will create for themselves an enemy who knows how to defend his interests.

[Donchev] As I understand it, this means that you will seriously oppose such actions on the part of the National Assembly?

[Petkov] It will not only be us; we will have the support of the European trade union community, which is extremely worried about the anti-trade union attacks being launched by conservative governments in certain countries of eastern and central Europe.

[Donchev] Let us continue. What will be your attitude toward the future government. Will it be an attitude of social partnership?

[Petkov] What should I say? Our attitude is one of wait and see. We do not yet know the composition of the government, and we have not seen its program. Only when these two things are cleared up can we agree exactly on how we will cooperate with this government. In any event, however, I would like to point out that the KNSB will not be a subversive or a destructive organization. We will be a serious and responsible partner of the new government, if the latter maintains the proper standards.

[Donchev] Thank you very much.

[News announcer] Professor Petkov, will you allow me to ask you one question from the studio?

[Petkov] Yes, of course.

[Announcer] In the present situation facing the country, how would you, as trade unions, view a new legislature that is firm in its decisions, and a firm future government?

[Petkov] That would be a legislative dictatorship, to which, of course, we would not react by bowing our heads, because to do this would mean that we were withdrawing from the sphere of socioeconomic interests in order to deal with something else, and we would no longer be trade unions. I myself consider that, by the inauspicious start it made yesterday, the National Assembly may gradually get on the wrong footing. Bulgaria must take a realistic look at its problems. They can be solved, not by strong legislation imposed by force, but by using a degree of flexibility combined, of course, with determination, and through dialogue with the forces outside the National Assembly.

DUMA Reports Mayoral Election Results

AU0511103291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Vasil Popov report: BSP Convincingly Wins Mayoral Elections"]

[Text] More than 50 percent of the settlements in our country elected their mayors with the red ballot.

Mayors were elected in 3,634 out of 3,798 settlements. Some 1,849, or 50.9 percent of them, belong to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] won in 566 settlements, or 15.6 percent, and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—in 481 settlements, or 13.2 percent.

The spectrum of political life is more picturesque in the villages than in the municipalities. Parties that remained outside the National Assembly also won in some settlements. Thus, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-E] has 404 mayors, or 11.1 percent, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-Nikola Petkov [BZNS-NP]—181, or 5 percent, and SDS-Center—19, or 0.5 percent, and the SDS-Liberals—5, or 0.1 percent.

Some 123 independent mayors—3.4 percent—without party affiliation were elected. Six of the mayors (0.2 percent) belong to other parties, including three who belong to the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Viewed on the basis of constituencies, the figures show that in no region does the SDS have more mayors than the BSP. In Burgas region, there are 109 BSP mayors versus 17 blue mayors; Dobrich—113 BSP and 9 SDS mayors; Stara Zagora—115 BSP and 21 SDS mayors; Khaskovo—119 BSP and 11 SDS mayors; Yambol—74 BSP and 1 SDS mayors. In all regions, the BSP mayors can be counted in two and three-digit figures, and in Vratsa region, there is not a single blue mayor. In only three regions—Kurdzhali, Razgrad, and Shumen—the DPS has more mayors than the BSP.

The BSP also received the most votes in municipality mayoral elections. Out of a total of 255 municipal mayors, 114 (44.7 percent) are BSP members. The SDS has 95 mayors (37.3 percent) and the DPS—27 (10.6 percent). The two Agrarian Unions have six mayors each (2.4 percent each). In addition, there are six independent mayors.

The aforementioned data was supplied by the BSP Calculating Center, whose computers processed the official protocols signed by the commissions. The results from 164 settlements were not received by 1500 on 29 October. In some of them, the elections were still proceeding; in others, they did not take place for various reasons.

Shortage of Kozloduy Plant Operators Addressed

AU0411113591 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 43, 23 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Docent Yanko Yanev, candidate of chemical sciences and chairman of the commission investigating the causes of the present state of the nuclear power industry in the Republic of Bulgaria under the Council of Ministers, by Emiliya Bakharova; place and date not given: "The Darkness Is Within Us"]

[Text] [Bakharova] Mr. Yanev, what do you think? Will we sit in the dark this winter?

[Yanev] Everyone asks me this, and it is a crucial and sensitive question. Unfortunately, it is most likely that we will be left in the dark, despite the assertions of the World Bank experts that power consumption will fall so much that we will have no problems with electric lighting and will manage to muddle through the winter. At the time, I warned them that this assessment is not quite correct. This morning, we had a meeting with the people from Kozloduy, who were asking permission to start up the No. 5 reactor. However, we have a great number of critical observations. First of all, there are not enough trained staff. In this situation, we will stay in the cold, as well as in the dark, if necessary. We will not allow any unnecessary risks to be taken. One gentleman kept on repeating: "We will not be able to meet the demand." I consider it is more sensible for us not to meet the demand, rather than to start up a reactor with unsuitable staff.

[Bakharova] To what exactly are you referring?

[Yanev] I am talking about something of exceptional importance. The operators are leaving our nuclear electric power plant, and they are right to do so, because they receive ridiculously low rewards given the immense risk and incredible responsibilities of their high profession. In order to do this work, they have to be highly qualified, and have to pass about 50 or 60 examinations. After all this, they have to be on duty day and night, and even work on so-called "red shifts" (that is, in addition to the normal roster)—something that is not allowed anywhere else in the world. For this level of responsibility, they do not even earn as much as a cafe keeper.

[Bakharova] There were reports that new salaries have finally been confirmed.

[Yanev] Yes, the permits have already been signed for the new salary scales. We have finally realized that since these cadres are in very short supply, we should pay more attention to them. We will pay them more than the president, if necessary. This is how the market economy works. Some people try to prove to us that we are wrong, that the prime minister draws a lower salary than a duty engineer. Our answer to these people is simple: Nevertheless, many people want to be prime minister, but even the old cadres do not want to remain as control room operators in the nuclear power plant. Therefore, we will increase salaries until we get the specialists to return to work.

[Bakharova] However, will they come back?

[Yanev] A concept of civic conscience exists, and their consciences should not allow them to leave their highly trained work to be done by untrained, casual staff. As for the rest of us, we should not envy them. The fact that we cannot do this job is no reason for passing comments on the amount paid for the work. We need to think clearly and logically, for the sake of our common tranquillity.

[Bakharova] If we manage to do this, will things change?

[Yanev] Only then will things begin to change for the better, not by the day, but even by the hour. Kozloduy has to be given a modern statute, in line with contemporary conditions. When a Western operator feels unwell, he is entitled to shut down the reactor and go home. However, we make our operators do extra turns of duty and fail to consider what a tired man at the control panel may mean....

[Bakharova] Despite all this, we should also include the other risk in our calculations. We have no coal, so what will happen if we run into trouble with our nuclear power supply?

[Yanev] We realize all this but, nevertheless, despite the risk of industry coming to a standstill and the population being left in the cold, we will not start up the units with only 22 operators available for the No. 5 and No. 6 reactors. We need double this number of staff. Not to mention the fact that I cannot sleep at night when a newly qualified operator starts work. In this work, more than in any other, one needs accumulated experience.

[Bakharova] What are the local government people at Kozloduy doing about this?

[Yanev] Unfortunately, the methods they use are often outdated. I hope Mr. Kostadin Petrov will forgive me but, in this day and age, it is old-fashioned to think that state subsidies can rescue the situation. The times demand a different approach. Instead of demanding money, they should, for example, ask for tax allowances, a free economic zone, or private capital to revive the municipality. The state can only subsidize things of vital importance. The conditions in a municipality like Kozloduy should be brought up to modern standards through the initiative of the people themselves.

[Bakharova] Do you have anything more specific in mind?

[Yanev] There are many possibilities. Recently I had a talk with a construction company. If they are relieved of the 22-percent profits tax, they are prepared to assemble houses within 45 days for the needs of the operators. However, one needs a decision of the Council of Ministers for this, the National Assembly, or God knows who. Indeed, we remain faithful to the maxim: "Someone should give it to us." Ossified brains and old methods will not bring us into the bright sunlight. The world will not help us if we do not help ourselves. The commodity shortest in supply is a sense of community awareness. Darkness and light appear first and foremost within ourselves, in both the direct and metaphorical sense.

Operator Wages To Be Increased

AU0411205391 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 28 Oct 91 p 1

[Zornitsa Veselinova report]

[Text] Last week, President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov were handed an appeal related to the exodus of specialists from the nuclear power plant.

The document was signed by the members of the presidential and government commissions concerned with the plant's problems. The appeal states that we are making one more desperate attempt to turn the attention of the public, the political forces, the presidency, and the Council of Ministers to nuclear energy supply's "ailments." Several recommendations are made: To establish a temporary management team at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant under the auspices of the Committee on Power Supply; to ensure integration between Bulgarian and foreign specialists (they receive $15,000 a month for doing nothing, because there is nobody with whom to work); to raise the wages of operating staff; to

tell the whole truth to people about the plant; and for the Prosecutor's Office to start an investigation into those responsible for its present state.

Most of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's installations can function at least a few more years, but specialists are running away from it; there is nothing to keep them there. At the end of September this year, Kiril Nikolov, the plant's director, wrote a letter to the president, the prime minister, and the chairman of the Committee on Power Supply on the peaceful uses of nuclear power. The letter states that, regardless of the financial help, the new technology, and the foreign expertise we receive, if the one way flow of staff continues, (from the plant to the outside), there is no point in doing anything. However, Kiril Nikolov has forgotten to add that he and some of his assistants victimize people who they deem inconvenient, settle accounts with them, and force them to leave. One operator related: "I know English, and they 'attached' me to three American experts sent from IAEA. Two of them commented in my presence that the bosses treated us like animals. I was very offended and handed in my resignation."

According to unofficial information, the Energy Supply Committee promises to increase the Kozloduy plant's top operating staffs's wages to 8,000 leva. The European Community is ready to release $2 million for this purpose. However, the most interesting project is the idea of establishing what has been called a National Energy Company (we are copying the French). This is at variance with the trading law, the Electric Supply Law, and most of all, the Law on Competition. It is not by chance that during Council of Ministers discussions about this project, lawyer Khristo Danov was against it, stressing that he did not want to be summoned to the Constitutional Court because of it. It appears that the committee's leadership is looking to save its own skin and, for this reason, is thinking of putting on a new face. The nuclear power plant, however, will become a branch of the company and consequently will be deprived of its independence; (most likely) incompetent people will play with it again.

From Docent Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Power, I learned that the sixth reactor ought to reach its projected capacity (1000 megawatts) on 5 February 1992. Even if this happens, the two 1,000 megawatt reactors will not succeed "in functioning together"—the halls of the one will be empty of people. The first reactor is being repaired; the second will be stopped at the end of October. The best, most optimistic version envisages that the third and fourth reactors and one of the 1,000 megawatt reactors will function during the winter. This is, of course, if our specialists working in the small reactors do not also take flight. At the moment, this number is "frozen" at its minimum of 22 people.

Popov Requests Talks on Libyan Oil Supplies

AU0411170591 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 31 Oct 91 p 1

[Staff report: "Popov Takes Care of Libyan Oil Supplies for Bulgaria"]

[Text] Libyan tankers have been avoiding Bulgarian ports for some time. It is a well known fact that the country in question paid for the work of our specialists in Libya with oil deliveries. Nevertheless, as a result of some strange "coincidence," the Libyan oil deliveries stopped after we established diplomatic relations with Israel.

As we learned from the Council of Ministers' Press Center, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov is reported to have met and talked to Ali Galay [name as transliterated], the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Libyan Embassy in Sofia. They discussed topical questions concerning our mutual relations. The Bulgarian prime minister reportedly drew attention to the requirement of intensifying economic relations and recommended that the problems of regular oil deliveries and payments should be settled. He insisted on high level talks between the two countries to be held as soon as possible.

Havel Spokesman on Future Federation Talks

LD0411213291 Prague CSTK in English 1959 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CSTK)—The spokesman for Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Michael Zantovsky, today told journalists Czech and Slovak leaders are closer to a settlement on powersharing between the federation and the country's two constituent republics, but are still divided over a planned agreement on relations between the republics themselves.

Federal and republic leaders in talks held Sunday at Havel's mountain cottage in East Bohemia agreed to approve an agreement on the future constitutional setup by the end of November. At the meeting Havel presented a proposal for the agreement and its implementation.

"The president considered it positive that both (Czech and Slovak) sides agreed to take his proposal as a basis for (further) discussion .... However, he realises the differences expressed (at the meeting) are significant", Zantovsky said.

According to Havel's plan, the accord would be incorporated into new constitutions for both republics and the federation, which would receive final legislative approval by May 1, 1992.

Parliamentary elections are to be held in June.

Slovak leaders, who have initiated the drive for an agreement on Czechoslovakia's future state setup, want it to say that Czechoslovakia is a state comprising Czech and Slovak Republics having equal rights.

Zantovsky said the two sides agreed at the talks on nearly all points concerning the division of powers, with defence, foreign policy and monetary policy remaining under federal control. Progress was made on the issues of police and border control, he said.

Differences remain in how the two sides view the agreement, he said. Slovak leaders want it to be legally binding. The Czech leaders say it should be a legislative initiative that will be effective through the federal and republic constitutions.

Vavrousek Wants Federal Control on Environment

AU0411131291 Prague CSTK in English 1409 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak minister for the environment, Josef Vavrousek, today told journalists the legal jurisdiction of the Federal Committee for the Environment must be set before any of its powers can be divided between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Meetings continued last week between parliament leaders from both republics to work out the distribution of authority between the federal and republic governments in a future Czechoslovak state setup.

"If the state is to function reliably as a whole, it is vital to work out as soon as possible its basic functions, and only then talk about the distribution of powers," Vavrousek said.

The Federal Committee for the Environment was formed in July 1990. Earlier, environmental affairs were directed only by the two republic governments. Some have called for the dissolution of the Federal Committee, whose powers have not yet been clearly outlined.

Vavrousek, however, called for the Federal Committee to be strengthened and said it should have responsibility for ensuring safe conditions at nuclear power plants and signing international agreements on environmental affairs and nuclear safety. The Federal Committee should ensure that environmental conditions in Czechoslovakia at least meet norms established by the European Community and the country's international obligations, he said.

Vavrousek said the Federal Committee should draft a state environmental policy in cooperation with environmental officials from the Czech and Slovak Republics.

HZDS Suggests Union Between Slovakia, Moravia

AU0411131491 Prague CSTK in English 1604 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Bratislava Oct 30 (CSTK)— Chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar said today that a union between Slovakia and Moravia is possible if the Slovak and Czech Republics fail to reach agreement on a state treaty.

Moravia is the eastern and smaller part of the Czech Republic, neighboring on the Slovak Republic in the east. The western part of the Czech Republic is Bohemia.

Meciar told a press conference here today "we have promised the Moravians we are ready to make a separate agreement with them if our relations with the Czechs collapse. (The rest of) the Czech Republic may then join us." He said unless relations between Moravia and the Czech Republic are settled, a treaty between the Slovak and Czech Republics cannot be signed.

Meciar said the emancipation efforts of 1.7 million people who declare themselves Moravians cannot be ignored. (The Czech Republic has a population of over 5 million people). He said Slovakia's support for Moravia follows from its interest in the stability of a future union.

Meciar said the HZDS insists that a Slovak constitution must be adopted before a treaty between the two republics is concluded.

Meciar further said that relations between the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the HZDS are promising in spite of criticisms of the HZDS by KDH leaders. He did not rule out the possibility of a new Christian party emerging in Slovakia.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 30 October on page 2 carries a 100-word CSTK report on talks between a Meciar-led HZDS delegation and a delegation of the Social Christian Union of Slovakia (SKUS) headed by SKUS President Jozef Mikus in Bratislava on 29 October. Representatives of the two delegations are quoted as having said that the talks "established a basis for the further intensification of mutual interaction on the Slovak political scene."]

KDH Daily Examines Havel's Slovak Policy

AU0111173091 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 30 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Marian Dudinsky commentary: "Vaclav Havel's Slovak Dimension"]

[Text] At the time of discussions about the election of the president [in fall 1989], Vaclav Havel expressed two wishes—first, that he would like to be only a temporary president and, second, that Alexander Dubcek must be at his side. Today, people in the Czech Republic can hardly forgive him for what he said about Dubcek, and people in Slovakia reproach him for the temporariness, with which both our nations have had woeful experience.

At any rate, the playwright Havel is in an unenviable situation because this cosmopolitan philosopher, writer, and—according to the latest American criteria—"hero of the velvet revolution" is also a politician, for which he is getting no prizes at home. Quite the contrary, he is being pelted with eggs. Even though even in advanced democracies politicians have been pelted with tomatoes and eggs since time immemorial, without anyone being traumatized by it, it is also evident that—because we still do not have democracy in the true sense of the word in our country—it is not appropriate to subject "freely elected" representatives to such humiliating treatment.

Vaclav Havel is continuator of the work of T. G. Masaryk. But Masaryk the philosopher also differed from Masaryk the politician. The two dimensions of both T.G.M. and Vaclav Havel are more than apparent. To claim that this is not the case means closing one's eyes to the harsh reality with which Havel is being confronted, especially in Slovakia. For example, the Pittsburgh agreement on Czechoslovakia was promised and, instead, only the Washington declaration on Czechoslovakia was brought to us, which makes a difference to Slovaks. Likewise, the faux pas of Rita Klimova, the ambassador of both republics to the United States, which was not her first, is not a mere innocuous episode of Czech-Slovak relations and, moreover, is one with international implications. Even when showing indulgence, the belittling of her statements by President Havel and the simultaneous accentuation of her merits is likely to be received with mixed feelings in Slovakia because, once again, the world has been told about Slovak anti-Semitism. Let me stress it—about Slovak anti-Semitism and not about Czech anti-Semitism, despite Mr. Havel's admission that it exists in the Czech Republic as well.

The reactions to the 28 October debacle of the rally for a common state at Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava, to which its organizers from the Public Against Violence ferried bus loads of participants from all over Slovakia, mostly suggest that the president must have known very well where he was going. I do not think that the blame for all the setbacks of Havel's mission to Slovakia can be laid only on the down-and-outs and the mob, as yesterday's LIDOVE NOVINY and SVOBODNE SLOVO did. Even calling the events at Slovak National Square a "nationalistic fury" is not adequate to the situation, in my opinion. Personally, I condemn such expressions, but I am asking whether they are not being provoked deliberately. After all, it is not rare for the Czech press to identify these expressions with the policy of the Carnogursky family, in particular, even though it must be clear to a judicious observer that they have nothing in common with the Carnogurskys' policy.

If, in spite of this, the president, coming from America, set out straight for the center of "anti-Semitism and nationalism" in the CSFR, then his advisers, who apparently recommended that he do that, should ponder whether instead of opening offices for the head of state in Kosice and Bratislava, it would not be wiser to carry out an overall analysis of the failures of this policy thus far and to draw from this analysis the inevitable conclusions for the president. The famous Carnegie has the following epitaph on his grave in New York: "You can reproach me for anything, except one thing—that I chose bad advisers...."

Assembly Passes Bill on Subsistence Minimum

AU0511112691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[CSTK report: "The Subsistence Minimum Set at 1,200 Korunas"]

[Text] The Federal Assembly honored the 73d anniversary of the foundation of the common state by having the Czechoslovak State Anthem played at the opening of the 18th session of the People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations yesterday.

After the anthem, the deputies commented on the agenda for the plenary session that is to continue until 8 November. They will, among other things, discuss the method of holding the referendum and examine the bill on CSFR property settlement between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, in the event of the dissolution of the CSFR. On proposals by the deputies, five items were added to the agenda. The discussion will be augmented by a draft amendment to the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation, as per the Civic Movement proposal. The amendment changes the regulation on voting in the chapter on the Federal Assembly by eliminating the possibility that the deputies could "block" adoption of laws by their absence. Chamber of Nations Deputy Roman Zelenay (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) described this amendment as the harshest attack on the Slovak component of the Federal Assembly. On a proposal by the People's

Chamber Deputy Vaclav Klaus (Civic Democratic Party), members of the Presidium and Board Control of the Federal Fund of National Property are to be elected at the 18th joint session of the Federal Assembly. The plenum also accepted the proposal by Chamber of Nations Deputy Jan Mlynarik (Civic Democratic Union—Public Against Violence party) to take a stand on the events that took place in Bratislava during the celebrations of the anniversary of the foundation of the common state on 28 October.

During the afternoon, the deputies passed by a great majority the bill on the subsistence minimum, which defines the limit of material poverty of a citizen. This standard across the entire Czechoslovak territory will, in effect, be the starting point for defining the limit of social dependence that will be set by the republic governments. At the same time, these governments, depending on their budget, changes in the cost of living, and local features, will decide on the method and conditions of social help to socially dependent people. Petr Miller, CSFR minister of labor and social affairs, said in this context that the fact that a citizen's income is below the subsistence minimum is not an automatic reason for providing him with financial assistance. It is only a reason to investigate his social situation and adopt the most effective form of support.

The subsistence minimum is the sum total of all expenses necessary to provide food and other basic personal needs of the citizen and the cost of maintaining a household. The sum considered necessary to provide food and other basic needs for children under six years is 900 korunas per month, children between six and 10—1,000 korunas, children 10-15—1,200 korunas, dependent youths between 15 and 26—1,300 korunas, and for other citizens—1,200 korunas. The maximum household expenses for an individual are 500 korunas per month, for couples—650 korunas, for three or four-member households—800 korunas, and for larger than four-member household—950 korunas.

These limits would be raised in the event that the cost of living index for households of low-salaried employees increased by more than 10 percent.

Deputies also began to discuss the government bill on the operation of radio and television broadcasts, which redefines the rights and responsibilities of legal and physical persons, and of the state bodies. The discussion of this bill will continue.

Finance Ministry Deregulates Food Prices 1 Nov

AU0511110991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Oct 91 p 8

[Article by Jana Furstova, Federal Ministry of Finance: "Half-Time in Price Regulation"]

[Excerpts] By their decree No. 014/91, the Federal Ministry of Finance and the Ministries of Finance of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic abolish, as of 1 November 1991, the regulation of the prices of basic food products of both plant and animal origin—meat and meat products, dairy products, and bread and bakery products. Granulated sugar remains the only food product subject to price regulation. This is this year's last major limitation of the state regulation of prices, from the viewpoint of its extent and significance. The proportion of goods with regulated prices has been gradually reduced from 15 percent at the beginning of the year to approximately 5 percent of the total production volume at present. [passage omitted]

In 1992, price regulation will center mostly on so-called public goods that are characterized by a strongly monopolistic structure—transportation, communications, energy, fuels, and, temporarily, also on ferrous metallurgy prices—and on socially sensitive areas—housing rents and health care. Use will continue to be made of market regulation funds and of an active agrarian policy. The development of prices will be determined by a number of aggregately [agregatne] operating influences of macroeconomic policy and by the speed of privatization and demonopolization. The success of macroeconomic policy, privatization, and demonopolization will also determine the future significance, or insignificance, of price regulation. At any rate, it is necessary to anticipate that, in the event of larger-scale disruptions of the market environment and their misuse by monopoly retailers or manufacturers, the price bodies will not hesitate to resist them by means of new price regulation.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 1 November on page 3 carries a 300-word CSTK report on a Federal Finance Ministry briefing, held in Prague on 31 October, on the deregulation, as of 1 November, of all food prices, except for granulated sugar. Vaclav Klicka, a Federal Ministry of Finance official, is quoted as having said that "the misuse of the monopoly position on the market" will be "severely punished" and that the state "will not hesitate" to reintroduce price regulation "if and where necessary."]

Briefing on Coupon Privatization Reported

AU0511114391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Stanislav Tomanek report: "More Than 210 Billion Korunas Worth of Assets for the First Wave of Privatization"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Assets of state-owned enterprises worth more than 210 billion korunas have been earmarked for the first wave of privatization within the framework of the CSFR. A total of 86.8 billion korunas worth of assets of 573 Slovak enterprises will be privatized by the coupon method, which means that every prospective shareholder will get assets worth approximately 43,000 korunas.

Naturally, the above figures are only tentative because the value of shares will be changeable, depending on supply and demand. [passage omitted]

As Slovak Minister for the Administration and Privatization of National Property Ivan Miklos told a news conference yesterday, coupon privatization is an important factor of Czechoslovakia's integration. However, in view of the quality of some privatization projects submitted by enterprises, he voiced concern about time pressure. A frequent problem is the settlement of enterprises' property rights. As only state enterprises can join the privatization process, it is necessary to furnish evidence of how their property was acquired. Another impediment is the absence of a legal provision that would place enterprises under an obligation to make available all data necessary for coupon privatization.

The risk of holders of investment coupons can be substantially limited by privatization funds. A total of 10 investment privatization funds had been approved in Slovakia by yesterday, and another 26 applications are being considered. The ministry has received 70 such applications from organizations and private individuals so far. An oddity is that the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice is setting up four privatization investment funds in the Slovak Republic and four privatization investment funds in the Czech Republic.

Stefan Repasky, the Postal Bank's marketing director, said that about 310,000 coupon books had been sold in Czechoslovakia by 12 October, 60,000 of them in Slovakia. In addition, 38,000 investment coupons (which cost 1,000 korunas each), 9,000 of them in Slovakia, have been sold to date. As Engineer Repasky jokingly observed, he knows of no bestseller that would record such sales as coupon books in less than two weeks. Representatives of the Federal Finance Ministry's Center for Coupon Privatization consider the coupon privatization project well-prepared and are confident that, in defiance of small shortcomings, this colossal project will be a success. [passage omitted]

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 31 October on page 2 carries a 300-word "gc"-signed report on the Bratislava news conference. The report quotes Marian Jusko, Slovak deputy minister for the administration and privatization of national property, as saying that "speculators" are concluding agreements with old-age pensioners and "other economically and socially weaker people," in which they promise to buy from them their investment coupons for 2,000 korunas, twice the purchasing price. According to the report, they hope to eventually get up to 80,000 korunas for these coupons, forgetting that the transfer of coupon books to another owner requires the original owner's written consent.]

Slovak Press Rejects Coupon Method

AU0511134591 Prague CSTK in English 1233 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Bratislava [dateline as received]—NARODNA OBRODA, funded by the Slovak Government, comments on the privatization of state-owned enterprises by the sale to citizens of coupons which can be used to acquire shares—commonly referred to as coupon or voucher privatization. The author of the article writes that this method of privatization has no analogy anywhere in the world and that it promises to be one of the most contested points of Czechoslovakia's economic reform.

The right sees coupon privatization as a means of evoking in voters the feeling of ownership. But the first steps already show it is impossible to go on raping and politicizing the economy, the author says.

The independent leftist daily PRAVDA describes coupon privatization as a refined method of transferring most of the country's property to foreigners. For most people in Czechoslovakia there will be no dividends, the paper writes, and the only ones who will make any money will be the small group of entrepreneurs who already know which enterprises will have their debts written off and which ones will be supported by the government. [passage omitted]

Daily Views Reason for Higher Slovak Unemployment

AU0211205391

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 October on page 2 carries a 250-word "pet"-signed report entitled "There Are Differences." The report explains differences between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in the provision of unemployment benefits. The author says that in the Czech Republic the unemployed receive, for a period of six months, 60 percent of their last average monthly earnings. Only those who were laid off for "organizational reasons" are entitled to 65 percent of their previous average monthly earnings. In the Slovak Republic, on the other hand, all unemployed receive 65 percent of their former salary. Moreover, whereas the unemployed in Slovakia may earn up to 800 korunas a month without forfeiting their benefits, in the Czech Republic they may earn only an extra 400 korunas. According to the author, the "far more advantageous unemployment provisions in the Slovak Republic" may explain Slovakia's "incomparably higher rate of unemployment" (at the end of September, the Czech Republic's rate of unemployment was 3.7 percent, while the Slovak Republic's rate was 9.5 percent).

Slovak Liberals Attend FDP Congress in Suhl

LD0211221391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] The congress of the Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP] continues in Suhl today. Jiri Halousek, our correspondent, has more details:

[Halousek] The congress of one of Germany's governing party, the FDP, has been concerning itself, above all, with questions concerning the continuing unification of the country. The current development of international events has, however, not remained on the sidelines either. Representatives of almost all political parties of a

liberal orientation from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are present at the congress. They were met at noon today by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, member of the FDP leadership and the Federal foreign minister. Martin Porubjak, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-PAV and Slovak deputy prime minister, told me after the meeting ended:

[Begin Porubjak recording, in Slovak] I knew that the attention would be focused on Yugoslav problems, which are currently very acute. Nonetheless, I asked Mr. Genscher whether he thought that it would be more realistic, quicker, and more advantageous for Czechoslovakia to reach an association agreement with the EC and a possible subsequent entry to the EC as a joint Czech and Slovak republic or, in connection with certain separatist forces existing in Slovakia and now also in the Czech lands, as two independent states? Mr. Genscher replied unequivocally that, because the association agreement was already being drawn up and because the same association agreements were being drawn up with Poland and Hungary, he saw unequivocally the first possibility as being much more easily attainable and more advantageous. In the reverse case, we would find ourselves in a situation where our northern and southern neighbors would be enjoying associate status, while we would be on the outside. [end recording]

[Halousek] Present at the congress from Slovakia is also Jan Holcik, chairman of the Democratic Party and Slovak minister of industry, and Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Independent Hungarian Initiative. As Jan Holcik told me, the Democratic Party, which is a member of the Liberal International, has proposed holding a meeting of all liberal parties from post-communist countries in Bratislava by the end of the current year and the establishment of a liberal union of Central and Eastern European states. Hans-Dietrich Genscher voiced his agreement with this proposal.

Present at the FDP congress from the Czech lands is Viktorie Hradska, chairwoman of the Liberal Democratic Party. Jiri Dienstbier, chairman of the Civic Movement and Czechoslovak foreign minister, arrived in Suhl this afternoon, directly from South Africa. The main part of his talks with the FDP representatives will be tonight and tomorrow, on the final day of the FDP congress.

Dobrovsky Comments on Netherlands Visit

LD0211084991 Prague CSTK in English 1340 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] The Hague Nov 1 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told CSTK last night his statement emphasising the significance of NATO has met with a very positive response from his Dutch counterpart Relus ter Beek. Dobrovsky last night concluded his three-day official visit to the Netherlands, the first by a Czechoslovak defence minister to the NATO member state.

Dobrovsky said the fact that views of Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands on ways of strengthening European security have come closer to one another is the most important result of the visit. Dobrovsky said it will be necessary to emphasise the need for identical definitions of security issues in Europe. He explained that some West European countries show certain superiority in determining possible security risks. Dobrovsky said he has been using every occasion to explain that the Western countries will be unable to define them "without us and our experiences".

Dobrovsky said he agreed with Relus ter Beek on a meeting of the general staffs chiefs and military experts of both countries and military attaches will be accredited in Prague and in The Hague.

Ministry Asks Yugoslavia to Safeguard Shipping

LD0411175491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry most resolutely calls upon the Yugoslav authorities to take measures without delay to safeguard shipping on the Danube. A note to this effect was handed to the Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest by a Ministry official. The document recalls that yesterday morning shots were fired at Hungarian vessels on the Danube, which endangered human life. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry regards the serious deterioration of shipping conditions as unacceptable and calls the attention of the Yugoslav side to the fact that it must reckon with the political, economic, and legal consequences deriving from the situation, including the assertion of Hungarian claims for compensation.

Keleti Discusses SFRY Reply on Barcs Incident

AU0511114291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Oct 91 pp 1-2

["V.P."-signed interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti on 29 October; place not given: "Mines Near Hungarian Border"]

[Text] Shortly before our deadline on 29 October, we asked Gyorgy Keleti about the reply given by the Yugoslav military authorities to Hungary's protests [regarding the Barcs incident], and whether any Hungarian countermeasures were to be expected:

[Keleti] During the Yugoslav attache's visit, several persons present at the site of the attack were told by the Yugoslav military attache that three air forces were currently operating on Yugoslavia's territory—as if this were some kind of an explanation. We cannot accept this, partly because it does not concur with our previous information, and partly because we believe that the Yugoslav Federal Air Force is responsible for airspace violations of this kind. Incidentally, the results of the investigations carried out so far show that it is only through luck and coincidence that the events in Barcs did not cost any human lives. Such an endangering of the lives of the civilian population is unacceptable even in wartime, and in times of peace, it is quite simply an unforgivable sin.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Can you take any measures to stop this from happening again?

[Keleti] We can increase the efficiency of our Air Force—by further increasing the "vision" of our radars, for example, or by increasing our aerial patrolling activities—but I would not put emphasis on this. I would prefer to stress that we wish to use political means to reduce the danger that has arisen along our border. I sincerely hope that there will be no cost in human lives before we are able to implement this goal.

[NEPSZABADSAG] As you know, the Yugoslav Army denied the reports on the attack.

[Keleti] Shortly after our announcement, Belgrade issued a denial—this simply means that they did not conduct an investigation. The helicopter of another country accidentally violated Hungary's airspace recently, and the pilot was banned from flying for a long period of time.

[NEPSZABADSAG] On the basis of investigations so far, do you think the Yugoslav aircraft attacked Barcs by mistake?

[Keleti] The launching of destructive objects may have been the consequence of a technical or human error, but it is not a coincidence that the Federal Air Force is continuing with its intensive military actions in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border, and what happened was a consequence of those actions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Finally, what is your reaction to the fact that Croat guards were wounded by the explosion of mines laid down in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border?

[Keleti] This leads us to conclude that quite a few stumbling mines [botloakna] have been laid down. These can cause an enormous amount of destruction, and there is a risk that, in the case of an attack on a border village, women and children might try to flee across the green border [unobserved border stretches] to the safer territory of Hungary, in which case there would be a major catastrophe. That is what we absolutely have to avoid.

Defense Official: SFRY Has Device Used on Barcs

LD0411112491 Budapest MTI in English 1146 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI)—A Hungarian Defence Ministry official, who declined to be named, told MTI's correspondent he had indisputable evidence to prove that the Yugoslavian People's Army possesses the type of device dropped on the south Hungarian town of Barcs on October 27.

In answer to an MTI query, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministery of Defence, declined to either deny or confirm this rumour, but promised that the ministry would return to the affair over the next few days. Official confirmation would bring about a new turn in the case, in view of the Friday press release of the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest stating that the Yugoslavian People's Army has never had such arms at its disposal.

As reported, on Sunday evening (October 27) a Yugoslav military aircraft penetrated the airspace of the Republic of Hungary and dropped a payload of bombs from low altitude onto the settlement of Barcs.

With regard to the above developments, Monday's NEPSZABADSAG says, "the editorial staff of NEPSZABADSAG has learned from an independent source that the evidence mentioned by a Hungarian person, who asked not to be named, is indisputable. Nevertheless,

one of the military attaches accredited to Budapest identified the casette displayed and photographed at Barcs, determined its type and stated: It is also known from open sources that the Air Force of the Yugoslavian People's Army has such arms in its arsenal, thus there is no point in denying this."

Foreign Ministry Holds Press Briefing 5 Nov

LD0511115691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] The main topic of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry's press briefing this morning was the Yugoslav situation. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general special envoy, will visit Budapest for a few hours on Thursday. Here he will hold talks with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. This was announced by the spokesman who was also asked about the international observers to be sent to the area of the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. Janos Herman said we have suggested to the EC the sending of such observers to Hungary. We received only a theoretical answer; nothing has yet happened on practical implementation.

The spokesman announced that the Hungarian-Ukrainian and the Hungarian-Russian basic agreement is under preparation, and Hungary has also made a proposal for signing such an agreement with the three Baltic states. The text of the Hungarian-Russian basic agreement is ready, so the coordination of a time for the competent statesmen to ratify and sign it is all that is needed.

Radio Reports Anti-Hungarian Sentiment in Romania

LD0511041191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Excerpts] In the Bucharest Parliament, extravagant criticism of the Hungarian nationality continued. Tibor Bogdan reports:

[Bogdan] On Monday afternoon, during the debate of the report dealing with the situation of Romanians allegedly driven out of Szekler Land [eastern Transylvania], the Romanian Parliament remained true to itself. Several below-the-belt punches were delivered by Romanian MPs [members of parliament], who are in the majority, toward their colleagues, belonging to the RMDSZ [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] and, via them, toward all of Magyardom. Thus, the basic formula has not changed: the words and adjectives.

This time, the main attack was directed against Geza Szocs, general secretary of the representative organization of Magyars, and Laszlo Tokes, who is honorary chairman of the body, who, according to one of the speakers, has nothing to do with Romania. The political figureheads of Hungary were not spared either; Jozsef Antall and Geza Jeszenszky among them. [passage omitted] Of course, they did not forget that the Hungarian papers are carrying out a fierce anti-Romanian campaign, and that a leading role has again been taken by Hungarian TV's program, "Panorama."

As opposed to this, the speakers of the minority could not do anything but what they have been doing so far: They tried to refute the mostly totally impossible accusations with calm reasoning and, not for the first time, tried to explain that they do not wish to segregate Transylvania. On the contrary, they are fully aware of the fact that a shared future has to be created here and now, in full cooperation with the Romanians.

MSZP's Horn on Regional Security Cooperation

LD0111232891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by correspondent Gabor Kereszti; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, when the Central European section of the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] was formed, [MSZP Chairman] Gyula Horn spoke about the need for a new Central European security system. My colleague, Gabor Kereszti, asked Gyula Horn why it would be necessary, and how a specific new way of thinking would help to resolve the region's long-standing troubles:

[Horn] I stress that the intention to establish close cooperation with NATO must not be given up. [passage omitted] The tensions, wars, or possible confrontations in the region do not leave the neighboring countries unaffected. It is not that they would attack us; I do not believe such a mad politician would exist in our neighborhood with that intention. [passage omitted] It is necessary, by all means, to shape and establish a new way of thinking. We have to find the conventional frameworks, forms, and forums that make the end of these clashes possible, provide security policy guarantees, and, if conflicts evolve or discords over disputed issues worsen, make it possible to take a joint action and nip them in the bud.

[Kereszti] Could you explain this with a concrete example. How can, for instance, the Yugoslav crisis be settled in a system like this?

[Horn] In my view, special coordination talks should have taken place a long time ago between the neighboring countries, with the inclusion of Yugoslavia, on how to ease those immense conflicts, differences, that seem almost unsolvable, such as those dominating Serbo-Croat relations today. Thus, in a situation like this, not only keeping away is useful, but some so-called intervention, I mean political, not military intervention, meeting European norms and requirements, would have, by all means, been necessary. Prompt, very firm action is necessary, not only with diplomatic notes and protests—

though they are important, they are necessary—but, making use of concrete actions, proposals, possibilities for mediation, the neighboring countries here should enter into contact with the Yugoslav People's Army, by all means, with the national defense forces of the Croatian National Guard, for this somehow is not just a border issue or an issue of those guarding the border, but an issue of the army or armed force to which the one who committed this incident or provocation belongs.

Deal Concluded on Imports of Soviet Natural Gas

LD0411193291 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Under an agreement signed in Moscow last week by Hungary's Mineralimpex Oil and Gas Trading Company, Hungary will take delivery of 4.8 billion cubic metres of natural gas from the Soviet Union next year.

The gas will serve as payment for Hungary's contribution to the Yamburg and Orenburg natural gas development projects in the Soviet Union and will satisfy all but 2 billion tonnes of Hungary's 1992 import needs.

FKgP Faction Suspends Party President Torgyan

LD0411173891 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI)—Unwilling to disclose papers on his background, Jozsef Torgyan was suspended as Independent Smallholder's Party president by the party's faction membership during today's parliamentary session.

Torgyan failed to meet an eight-day deadline to produce documents proving his integrity to the faction. Until the documents are presented, Torgyan is forbidden to attend faction meetings, make statements on behalf of the parliamentary group and address parliament. Of the 36 MPs [members of parliament] in attendance, 30 said yes to the decision.

Also complicating matters, the faction had pledged confidence for the Smallholder ministers and state secretaries, in defiance of the October 30 decision of the national leadership decision that party backing to Smallholder ministers and state secretaries expired on October 31.

At last week's Thursday session, the government addressed the above resolution of the national leadership of the Independent Smallholder's Party. The prime minister wishes to examine the situation at the next joint session of the parliamentary factions of the three coalition parties (Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Independent Smallholders, Party). According to the government decision, Smallholder ministers and state secretaries will remain fully responsible until then.

Paper Examines Structure of Unemployment

AU0511120891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Oct 91 pp 1, 5

[Report by Szilvia Hamor: "Overview of the Employment Market"]

[Text] According to data published by the National Labor Affairs Center, the number of unemployed rose by more than 41,000 in September. Thus, as a national average, the proportion of unemployed people to employed people exceeded 6 percent. This proportion was near or over 10 percent in the crisis areas (Szabolcs, Borsod, Nograd, Bekes, and Szolnok counties). Budapest continues to be in the best position because the unemployment rate is 1.8 percent here.

Some 31,606 first-time job seekers were registered among the unemployed in September, and their number had risen by a total of 13 percent in the previous month. That means that, as opposed to the usual, they appeared in large numbers a month earlier, in August. As for their qualifications, the majority are high-school graduates, and 5 percent are university graduates. The proportion of skilled and qualified people among the unemployed has increased in general, and almost 50 percent of them have high-school or university qualifications.

In 1991, some 283,000 people in all have received benefits so far, and their number was almost 214,000 at the end of September, which means that the number of people receiving benefits decreased by 69,000 during the year. Some 70 percent of these people managed to take up employment again, and 2,400 people were excluded from benefits. The average amount of benefit was 7,072 forints.

Employers have indicated that another 22,000 people are to be laid off in September, therefore, another 62,000 employees are to be laid off altogether until the end of 1991. Industry will continue to have the greatest cutbacks, and many people will lose their jobs in the construction industry and agriculture.

The number of announced vacancies has only increased by 9 percent and is barely over 15,000. Therefore, in theory, there are five vacancies per 100 unemployed, but the areas of supply and demand do not coincide. Manual workers—mainly skilled laborers—are sought in nine-tenths of the vacancies. Thus, only 2,600 positions can be offered to the 79,000 unemployed unskilled laborers. At the moment, some 58,000 intellectuals are unemployed and the number of announced vacancies hardly exceeds 1,500 in this category.

Defense Ministry's Keleti Analyzes Budget Needs

AU0511115991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Oct 91 p 10

["V.P."-signed interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti; place and date not given: "Difficult To Assemble"]

[Text] The Defense Ministry has clashed with the Finance Ministry about next year's military budget.

Hungary's Defense Minister [Lajos Fur] has stated that the Finance Ministry originally only wanted to grant the nominal value of this year's military budget to the Defense Ministry's 1992 budget. This year, the military budget amounted to 54 billion forints. The Defense Ministry asked for (or, to be more precise, would have asked for) 67 billion forints. On 30 October, Gyorgy Keleti told our correspondent that the government's latest draft budget stated that 60 billion forints would be appropriate for the country's military budget. Keleti spoke in more detail about some unforeseeable factors:

[Keleti] First of all, our expenses have grown because of inflation rates; secondly, they have grown even more because of the preventive measures that we have been forced to take due to the situation that has developed near the Yugoslav border. These measures include the stationing and continuous operation of radars, as well as the state of alert introduced for our air force. These measures represent extra expenses, to the tune of 15-16 million forints every 10 days. If we have to continue with these measures until the end of this year, we will accumulate extra expenses to the tune of 250 million forints. If we introduce other preventive measures, it will bring further increases into our budget.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is it true that, as far as some of our military- technological equipment is concerned, we have such a great shortage of spare parts that we use two or three pieces to assemble one? Is there anything left for development?

[Keleti] In some cases, this assembly theory may even be true. Seven percent of our budget goes toward maintenance, modernization, and development. That is a minimal sum, considering the fact that we even buy Soviet spare parts at considerably increased prices for U.S. dollars.

[NEPSZABADSAG] If the National Assembly fails to approve these 60 billion forints, how will the Army continue to function?

[Keleti] In that case, we will have to have recourse to methods that we absolutely do not wish to use. We would have to make further reductions in our number of exercises, we would be unable to start new essential schemes like the development of our automatic aircraft radar systems, we would be unable to modernize our aircraft engines (which badly need modernization), and I could carry on with this list.

Drzycimski: Parties Ready To Form Coalition

LD0511134391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski has reported that the Catholic Electoral Action, WAK, the Liberal Democratic Congress, KLD, the Center Citizens' Alliance, PC, and the Confederation for Independent Poland, KPN, have declared their readiness to form a center-right government. He added that such a government would have to be called a Solidarity-independence government. Representatives of these four parties will most likely meet on Thursday at Belvedere, the presidential residence.

The spokesman reported that Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz had been offered an unspecified post at Belvedere.

Solidarity Presidium Examines Election Showing

AU0511113691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 91 p 2

[Ryszard Wesolowski report: "We Are Not in Power"]

[Text] "At least we know we are not in power, of which we were wrongly accused," said Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski, commenting on the election results.

The 29 October meeting of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium was devoted to an assessment of the election results. No secret was made of the fact that Solidarity is one of the losers.

"We have paid for the mistakes of the two previous governments and, unfortunately, even for the mistakes of the president himself," said Solidarity Deputy Chairman Jan Rulewski. "Even though Solidarity held the umbrella that protected the authorities that originated from it, the union and society have paid for the reforms that had to be and will be implemented."

"We initiated the reforms in Poland, and we will support all activities that promote the country's development," said Andrzej Adamczyk, the union's spokesman. But he added: "We will not form a government coalition. As a parliamentary representative, we can only join a reformist coalition."

M. Krzaklewski said that Solidarity is still responsible for Poland. "The reasons for our defeat are the unnecessary pre-election alliances and the fact that Solidarity was overshadowed by the parties that originate from it, which only caused confusion during the election campaign. He said that Borusewicz and Rulewski would lead the Solidarity Parliamentary Club. "They are to represent the union inside the Sejm," he said.

At the end of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium meeting, union spokesman Andrzej Adamczyk told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "The meeting decided that in the newly elected Sejm, to solve the problems facing Poland, the union must confer with all the forces that have branched out of the Solidarity tree trunk."

Michnik Comments on Walesa's Prime Minister Idea

AU0411200791 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 91 p 1

[Adam Michnik commentary: "Your President, Your Prime Minister?"]

[Text] I consider Lech Walesa's announcement that he is prepared to become prime minister to be interesting and worthy of consideration. Lech Walesa is the leader of the camp that won the presidential elections a year ago and, at the same time, he is the only potential prime minister who can count on the complete loyalty of the president and his chancellery while he is in office. Wherever there is genuine power, there should also be genuine responsibility.

Walesa's proposals are as interesting as they are surprising: One perceives a desire to end "the war at the top" in them, as the first people he spoke to were Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. One can even perceive a desire to break with the aggressive rhetoric of decommunization, as under one of the scenarios, Walesa also sees a place for the post-communist formation in his government.

Nevertheless, all these proposals also conceal a danger. Such a large concentration of power in the hands of one person has been a bad tradition, because it may threaten normal, democratic procedures. That is why guarantees and control mechanisms are needed to provide effective safeguards. The person of Lech Walesa alone does not provide such guarantees.

Who could enter the government that has been proposed? Those parties that define themselves as parties of the presidential camp in the new situation that has arisen. I think that a compromise is possible, and a compromise that would also include other groupings that will remain outside the government because of their opposition to President Walesa's style of government, but could also lend parliamentary support to the new government's policies. However, for that to be possible, Lech Walesa as a candidate for the office of prime minister would have to publicly answer several questions.

First, what does the idea of a government for two years mean? Does it mean a government that could not be dismissed during that period of time, regardless of parliamentary procedure, and would only be responsible before God and history? Or is it simply a proposal of a political pact that is addressed to political groupings for a duration of two years?

Second, what special powers would the government have? Would the sweeping range of these powers not pose a threat to civil liberties, a natural temptation for all governments that have been furnished with special powers?

Third, what kind of economic and political program would the government pursue? Only a program that is of

a clear, concrete nature and not the person of a leader can justify an exceptional procedure under which Parliament would entrust the president with the office of prime minister. So, what kind of Poland would be planned for two years from now? What direction would economic policy take? What form would the state take: Would we proceed toward a religious state, or would the principle of the separation and autonomy of church and state be observed?

Finally, would we have a state in which the rule of law is observed, or would we have the laws of a state of emergency?

The public has a right to expect Lech Walesa to answer these questions.

Defense Minister Discusses Doctrine, Budget

AU0511092591 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25-27 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk by Wojciech Luczak; place and date not given: "A Defensive Europe, Not An Offensive One"]

[Excerpts] [Luczak] The head of the industry ministry, Mrs. Henryka Bochniarz, has requested that you rapidly complete work on a military doctrine. Who is to see to that, because we recently heard from the lips of the minister of state for national security affairs, Lech Kaczynski, that he is to deal with the matter?

[Kolodziejczyk] It has become the established belief that state military doctrine is the domain of the military, because at one time only the military formulated it and was responsible for it. That was unhealthy, however. Issues pertaining to state defense cannot be isolated from a state's political and economic system. Before we arrive at the question of developing a defense system, we have to have a very clear and detailed definition of political and economic strategy, including the various stages by which particular goals are to be attained. This has to be done by a body that has a wide-ranging character and is made up of representatives of many areas of public and political life. It should include people from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and representatives of economic circles and political groupings. I envisage it as a broad forum for exchanging views on military doctrine within which there would be a group charged with formulating the doctrine. This is what gives rise to the idea that the National Defense Committee, it will shortly be the National Security Council, should coordinate general views on the subject of military doctrine.

[Luczak] So, there is still no doctrine, and I think that its birth will be a painful process; yet it is accepted the world over that a doctrine should determine everything that goes on in an army. Meanwhile, you also have to set in motion the new model of the Polish Armed Forces that has been approved by the government. Without a concrete military doctrine, that is like floundering on shifting sands....

[Kolodziejczyk] The alternative would be unpardonable idleness. So, we are proceeding on the basis of a kind of substitute military doctrine. All of Europe is heading in a purely defensive direction. So, it is necessary to eradicate the offensive element from all doctrines for our continent to be safe. Our substitute doctrine is made up of several concepts. The first of those is never be first. Further, we want to live with our neighbors by treating them equally, while at the same time maintaining the security of all our borders without exception. I think that those are foundations that go a long way toward meeting expectations. A quite separate issue is that of funds for realizing a vision of the Armed Forces that is in line with our ideas and needs.

[Luczak] Precisely. You liberally used the terms hibernation and agony in relation to the Armed Forces, and recently, the talk has been of skeleton units. The reason for all this is money, or the lack of it. How much would have to be spent in order to attain, let us say, an appropriate level of security on the borders?

[Kolodziejczyk] Currently, we are effecting a transition from quantity to quality, but there is a shortage of money for the technical modernization of the Army. Today, we still possess a defense capability that guarantees us a chance to resist an aggressor. We can afford to put up initial resistance. If we are caught in the claws of two great powers, then the outcome is naturally predetermined. However, one cannot agree with the view of those who maintain that because history has placed us in this particular location, we have no chance, and we should give up our Army. That is an absurdity that rules out the sovereignty of the state.

For the time being, our defense capability is fairly respectable. In August, we discharged 39,000 well-trained reservists. They are valuable. A further worsening of the financial crisis would cause a reduction in the reserve army of trained young people. It would be difficult to talk about the Armed Forces having plenty of opportunities for development....

[Luczak] So, how much do you need?

[Kolodziejczyk] I think that the absolute minimum is last year's Ministry of National Defense budget of 28 trillion zlotys without any reductions. That should protect our most important structures. It would make it possible to maintain the state of our weaponry at its present level. It would make repairs possible. It would give us the freedom to go over to more modern forms of equipment and to train people to use them. In the situation in which we find ourselves, we should at least see to it that our personnel is better prepared intellectually for confronting the 21st century.

[Luczak] Reading official communiques, one could get the impression that you in the military are the cause of the collapse of the arms industry. Apparently, you do not want to pay, and you were just recently forced to pay a sum of 770 billion zlotys that the Ministry of National Defense owed the industry....

[Kolodziejczyk] Heavens! No one forced anyone to do anything! We would like to pay as soon as we receive equipment, but it is the Finance Ministry that holds the purse strings. It was the Finance Ministry that could not find the sums that were assigned and allocated to us in the budget. Can you imagine that sometimes we do not know what the Finance Ministry will "release to us" until the end of the month. We did mount the financial blockade. I talked about 28 trillion zlotys. That would be enough, on condition that we would actually have that sum at our disposal and would not have to wait for a few drops to be "released" every month. [passage omitted]

[Luczak] The president is pressing for the creation of an international military force that is to prevent further bloodshed in Yugoslavia, and he has said that he would like to include Polish units in it. You urge caution on this subject. Does that not conflict with the president's idea?

[Kolodziejczyk] On the contrary, as far as I know, the president has never expressed a desire to form a military force that would intervene between the parties that are in conflict. The idea proposed by the president is the creation by the European states of a European formation whose presence would dampen the zeal of the parties in a conflict if, when a situation is tense, there is a danger of an armed conflict erupting between potential adversaries. The formation would seek to prevent initial acts of aggression, because later, as sorry Yugoslav experience shows, events snowball and quickly get out of control. The formation would also act as a kind of fire fighter on our continent, for occurrences of large scale natural disasters.

[Luczak] So, you are against sending troops into the dangerous turmoil of the Balkans in order to separate the combatant parties?

[Kolodziejczyk] That would be unacceptable nonsense that could be explained by any first year military academy cadet. I would also add that the politicians have spoken out, Yugoslav politicians, and they have given us to understand that foreign forces who arrive under whatever flag will be regarded as invaders. At the present time, there are no international measures that would sanction the use of force to intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign states. [passage omitted]

Pirate TV Station Broadcasting From Szczecin

LD0411193891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] A television station, "Morze" [The Sea], has been on the air in Szczecin for three days.

The chairman of the Municipal Council and one of the Szczecin deputy mayors were among the guests on an inaugural program. In spite of being invited, the Szczecin voivoda, as well as other representatives of local authorities, failed to turn up at the studio. The fact of the matter is that the new station has been broadcasting without permission, and even in spite of a clear ban by the Ministry of Communications.

Simply speaking, this is a pirate station that has taken over a free channel and is relaying satellite programs almost round the clock —because this is the cheapest way— superimposing on them its own commercials. The station has also been encouraging and inviting some commercials.

The order on the air is guarded by the State Radiotelecommunications Agency [Panstwowa Agencja Radiotelekomunikacyjna]. Its Szczecin representative handed the television pirates a note banning further activity, but they took no notice of that. They have appealed against this decision, and the legal procedure may take some time. However, they will be able to earn a lot in the meantime.

Iliescu, Nastase Receive WEU Delegation

AU0511095591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0916 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/11/1991—Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, received Monday, November 4, at Cotroceni Palace, Willem van Eekelen, secretary-general of the Western European Union, WEU, and Klaus-Peter Klaiber, representative of the WEU Presidency, in charge of political matters, acting director in the German Foreign Ministry.

The WEU delegation also included Richard Tibbels, councillor with the Division of Political Affairs of the WEU General Secretariat, and Reinhard Buchholz, Mr. Klaiber's assistant, diplomatist holding the position of ambassador in Bonn's Foreign Ministry.

Attending was the Romanian Foreign Minister, Adrian Nastase.

The WEU representatives were interested in the process of the political reform in Romania and the opinions of the Romanian presidency on future political evolutions in Romania.

At the close of the interview, Mr. Van Eekelen told the press that he had come to Bucharest to get informed on Romania's point of view as regards cooperation in the fields of security and defense. For his part, President Ion Iliescu referred to the progress made by Romania on the way of the democratic reform, on the drawing up of the new constitution.

Economic matters facing Romania were equally tackled. The necessity was underlined that Romania be granted assistance by developed countries.

The WEU delegation underscored that it would publicly inform its ministers on the data gathered. Its members also mentioned that they hoped that, after the interview, further steps would be made in Romanian-WEU relations.

Mr. Klaiber, the representative of the WEU presidency, mentioned that WEU intended to enlarge contacts with East and Central European governments. He added that, after this interview, the WEU delegation was in the possession of encouraging data on the reform under way in Romania, that will be conveyed to the WEU member countries. Another interview is going to be held between WEU representatives and Romanian officials, to examine possibilities for intensifying bilateral relations.

Mr. Klaiber also anticipated that the WEU countries' foreign ministries and ministries of defense would make positive decisions on intensifying consultations between WEU and East European countries.

Article Views Bessarabia, Soviet Treaty Issues

AU0211204991 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Oct 91 p 1

[Unsigned editorial: "Bessarabia's Reannexation Is Not Urgent for the Romanian Government"]

[Text] For the time being, our government's policy will not aim to bring about Bessarabia's speedy reunification with the rest of the country.

Following the public protests at home and abroad and the critical attitude of other governments from Central and Eastern Europe, the current regime "froze" the Romanian-Soviet treaty signed by Messrs. Ion Iliescu and Mikhail Gorbachev. The aim is to renegotiate certain clauses, particularly the clause in Article 4 that forbids us to choose our allies in accordance with our interests and obliges us to take into consideration only Soviet interests.

These are the two main news items that emerged after the 23 October talk between Mr. Adrian Nastase and the German delegation participating in the German-Romanian session organized in Bucharest by the Hanns Seidel Foundation. One of the participants in the talks gave us some details of that discussion.

The foreign minister believes that the separation of Romanians into two states—Romania and the Republic of Moldova—can be compared to the Germans' division into West and East Germany, which ended with the reunification.

It is obvious that the Romanian Government intends to respect the viewpoint of Mr. Mircea Snegur [president of the Republic of Moldova], who recently refused to consider Bessarabia's reunion with Romania.

However, the participant in the talk with Mr. Adrian Nastase who gave us this information knew that Chisinau's [Kishinev's] wait-and-see attitude on reunion with the country is encouraged by the true democrats, since the latter have reservations about the current regime in Bucharest. They think Bessarabia is farther advanced along the road of democracy than Romania, and they want to wait until a truly democratic government is installed in our country, so as to resolutely work for reunion with the motherland.

Mr. Adrian Nastase said that the Romanian Government, nevertheless, believes in the possibility of remaking Greater Romania in the not too distant future.

Our government will recognize the Soviet republics that have recently proclaimed their independence as sovereign states. After the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Ukraine, the Kiev Government will be asked to start negotiations regarding the return of North Bukovina and South Bessarabia, territories that were snatched away from Romania in 1940 in keeping with the secret Ribbentrop-Molotov protocol.

FSN Deputies Insist on December Local Elections

AU0411195291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/11/1991—The Assembly of Deputies resumed proceedings in plenum at the palace of Parliament on Monday, November 4, in the afternoon. With a majority of vote the plenum of the legislative forum approved the schedule for the November 4-7 interval, which includes inter alia the continuation of debates on the bill for the election of local and county councils.

Before debates on the agenda Marian Enache, leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN] Parliamentary Group, took the floor stating that his political party was of the opinion that the holding of free local elections with equal opportunities at the end of this year was a democratic imperative the avoiding of which might trigger certain consequences.

The National Salvation Front had announced and categorically demanded as early as June 1991 that local elections be called at the end of the year. Therefore, the argument of some political groups that there would not be enough time to prepare their programmes and make them known was not valid since there had been time from July till now to prepare programmes which can be popularised up to the date of elections.

Reminding that Romania's government had guaranteed that from a technical point of view elections could be held on December 15, Mr. Enache said: The National Salvation Front reiterates its option for elections to be called before the end of the year as a guarantee of a speeded-up democratization of Romania, of a consolidation of local credibility, lawfulness and autonomy in the administrative-territorial units of our state.

In a statement he made in the Senate on November 4 in the name of the National Salvation Front Parliamentary Group, Senator Ion Solcanu stressed that his party had set the holding of local elections by the end of this year as its political objective. In summer the National Salvation Front announced that local elections could be held in October or November, that is in autumn. The September 24-27 events made the attainment of that aim impossible. But there is an option to call local elections as soon as possible, before the end of December even, an option which relies on major political objectives which concern the democratization of the country.

The soonest election of the new local executive power structures would allow for their consolidation and the organization of general elections, legislative and presidential, next spring, Mr. Solcanu said, reiterating the readiness of the National Salvation Front to organize general elections until the end of this year, which falls within the general framework for the finalization of the country's democratization.

New 'Democratic Left' Coalition Issues Appeal

AU0511124991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1122 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/11/1991—"The Union of the Democratic Left is open to all political parties and organizations that, by their programs, rank on the political stage from the center to the left" reads a declaration and appeal of the Union of the Democratic Left, set up by the Coalition of the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Romanian New Society Party, the Neoliberal Movement and the General Association for Defense of the Right to Work.

The document shows that the new coalition "rejects any form of totalitarianism or dictatorship", speaks up for wide collaboration, based on national reconciliation "in view of furthering, in realistic conditions, the irreversible process of democratization and reform".

Meaning to participate in the forthcoming election campaign, the Union of the Democratic Left will promote by its political platform "the defense of Romania's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, the promotion of political pluralism and power-sharing in the state, growth and modernization of the national economy, development of agriculture through the consolidation of private farms, improvement of public health care". The program of the new political alliance also stipulates "provision of conditions for a better equipment, drilling and education of the army and troops of the Ministry of the Interior, in view of increasing the country's defense capacity, the order of law, the civic freedoms and rights, the promotion of collaboration with all countries and nations, with all progressive forces, based on the principles of observance of independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage".

PSD Leader Distances Himself From Extreme Left

AU0511111391 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, PSD, by Ioan Lascu: "We Define Ourselves as a Party of the Whole Nation"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Lascu] Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, how can one define social democracy today?

[Cunescu] Social democracy is not a doctrine that adjusts itself to the new circumstances offhand—it evolves over a long period of time, and it is very consistent and precise. To sum it up, social democracy is a very generous movement that strives to raise the individual to an ever higher level of dignity. For present circumstances, it accepts a mixed economy based on market laws—of course, with corrections that will not allow the creation of great wealth for just a few and will ensure that the various success stories will necessarily have a positive impact upon the entire society.

[Lascu] A number of parties have emerged that call themselves socialist-democratic, independent social democratic, traditional social democratic, and so forth. What is your opinion and attitude toward this diversification, this splitting of the political forces belonging to the spectrum of social democracy?

[Cunescu] At this point, we define ourselves as a party of the whole nation, but we are particularly interested in the life of the employees. Generally speaking, the Western social-democratic and even socialist parties developed in strong conjunction with the trade unions. Regarding the parties you mentioned, we do not monitor what happens with other groupings; we, the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSD], are only interested in the public activity of political parties, not in their structure. Concerning the Socialist Democratic Party, which was set up immediately after the revolution, we have maintained a great distance from it, since that party has strongly behaved as an extreme leftist party. Right now, it is much to our left, so we cannot say how it will evolve in the future. The Traditional Social Democratic Party was set up by a businessman—his name is Ring or Cornescu, I do not know, since both names circulate in the press. He made a party for private entrepreneurs; then he lured several people from other parties—including from our party—namely, some discontented ambitious people who were not reelected at the Congress and consequently joined that party. The Independent Social Democratic Party is a grouping that I do not think scored any result at the elections, although I am not really sure. There is another one that appeared a few days ago, calling itself simply the Social Democratic Party. As a matter of fact, it is registered under the name the National Salvation Front- Social Democratic. We do not know what course it will eventually take, although its people were recently seen together with the democratic socialists and with those from the Romanian Communist Party [PCR]—even Verdet [Ilie Verdet, president of the Socialist Party of Labor] was present, which disqualifies them right away. As things stand now, our party is the only one that is social democratic by tradition, legitimacy, and activity, beginning with the first day after the revolution, and that is recognized by the Socialist International.

[Lascu] What is your opinion about the recrudescence of extreme left political forces, such as the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], which is active in the workers milieu, a traditionally social-democratic milieu?

[Cunescu] The activity of this PSM is detrimental to the country, not to our party. In spite of the calamities brought upon our country by the former RCP [Romanian Communist Party], these remnants of that party are trying to exploit the current hardships caused by an objective transition situation and by the mistakes committed by those in power after the revolution. The very exploitation of popular discontent and of objective misfortunes for political capital is a serious misdeed. Aside from all that, we consider the appearance of "personages" with very high responsibilities in the past regime—including scores of thousands of human lives on their conscience—on the political scene as unworthy and provocative. They will eventually have to account for their share of guilt, and the day of reckoning is close. By provoking attempts at rehabilitating communism, they are only worsening their personal situation.

Power Industry Reported in 'Alarming' State

AU0411133191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1027 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/11/1991—About 1.1 billion dollars would be necessary to meet Romania's power requirements for the 1991-1992 winter, wrote the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA," in an article on the alarming state of the power-production industry. The situation of the lignite and pit coal stocks should be cause of serious concern. The 6 million tonnes of lignite, i.e. the stock scheduled for the end of October, were not reached. The 94 million tonnes of pit coal in stock at October 28 can only be enough to supply power groups for ten days.

60 percent of the fuel necessary for the functioning of co-generation stations comes from the domestic production, the remaining 40 percent from imports, only five percent of which has entered Romania so far, adds "ROMANIA LIBERA."

Owing to heavy rainfall last spring and summer, hydropower stations were able to supply about 1,500 kw, but as the national electricity corporation "Renel" announced a few days ago, water reserves can possibly be exhausted by January 15.

Six Million To 'Suffer' From Fuel Shortages

AU0111180691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1334 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/11/1991—About six million persons are expected to suffer from cold in Romania this winter, Mihai Cornel, manager of Macomb S.A., a company specialised in solid fuel contracting and supply, told daily "ADEVARUL" in an interview published on 1 November. Only 750,000 families—out of nearly three million—were supplied with fuel wood, adding to which are 550,000 who were delivered coal.

The reason is failure of solid fuel suppliers to honour their contracts. By way of example, he said, only 884,000 tonnes of fuel wood were supplied out of a total 1,230 millions tonnes. As far as coal is concerned, supplies total just 702,000 tonnes, which is far from enough, the more so as there are counties where less than a quarter of their contracts has been delivered.

Also in the opinion of Ioan Sbera, under secretary of state at the Wood Industrialization Department, fuel wood deliveries raise a very serious problem. He says that other alternatives should be sought since "we cannot cut the forests for fuel wood: We are the only European country to use wood for heating, and on a large scale."

Economic Forecasting Office Surveys Investments

AU0411104391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0846 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1991—Investment, as a decisive component of economic progress, kept declining, like other sectors of Romanian economy, writes a survey made by the Department of Economic Forecasting and Guidance of the Economy and Finance Ministry, and carried by the ministry's July-August 1991 bulletin.

Over the first half of the year running investment shrank to 35.6 per cent of the total annual fund allocation in current prices. The poorest results were obtained by the ministries of Industry, Agriculture and Food Industry, Labor, Culture, Health, by the State Secretariat for the Handicapped, while the Ministry of Transport swallowed up the entire annual amount allotted to it for investment.

More than four fifths, that is 81 per cent of the total of 28.6 billion lei, were earmarked for furtherance of projects started before 1 January 1991, while the rest was spared for projects due to commence this year, for technical endowment, means of transport and designing expenses. Although all conditions were met, such as financial coverage, contracts concluded, technological equipment ordered, only 8.9 billion lei, that is 38.7 per cent of the amounts apportioned for the continuation of projects started prior to 1 January 1991, was invested, with the same ministries as above as the poorest performers.

A serious reason for concern is the decline of investment in vital sectors, as energy production is. The Mining Department, for instance, effected only 17.9 per cent of the investment planned, although, upon the express demand of the coal corporation, the 1991 fund was supplemented by 5 billion lei.

Renel, the National Electricity Company, carried out only 30.2 per cent of its annual investment scheme. Although the state budget made funds available to keep the Cernavoda Nuclear Power project going, only ten per cent of this investment, started years ago, has been done. And the survey estimates that the Cernavoda plant will not be ready before the year 2006/2007.

Group Protests Against Transylvania Archbishop

AU0411175691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/11/1991—The Reflection Group for the Renewal of the Church sent a communique to "ROMPRES" showing that it had noted with concern that the Vatican had raised the Roman-Catholic Bishopric in Alba Iulia to the rank of Archbishopric, a step that, "far from representing an act of Church administration," has most serious political consequences on the security and integrity of the Romanian state. "The appearances," the communique shows, "can only deceive the people—and they are very many—who are not conversant with the history of the troubles caused by the revisionist activity of the Hungarian Catholic organizations in Transylvania between the two world wars. Under the front of religion they carried on an intense, well-organized activity to train Hungarian youth in a revisionist, revanchist spirit. Unfortunately, in consideration of the actions taken by the Hungarian extremist organizations in Romania and abroad, one can foresee that, owing to the separation of the Hungarian Catholic dioceses from the Catholic Archbishopric of Bucharest, the nationalist-chauvinistic political activities will find a fertile ground in the Catholic churches in Transylvania. And early reports, starting with the opening ceremony at the Archbishopric in Alba Iulia, attest to such prognostications.

"Guilty of this situation is not only the Vatican, that involved itself, maybe unawares, in the conflicts that are to merge, but also the leadership of our state that, although aware of the pressure exerted on the Vatican by Hungarian political circles at home and abroad, did not warn decision-makers there on the threat the acceptation of those claims would pose to the links with Romania.

"In no way infringing upon freedom of religion, which is guaranteed in our country, the political actions placed in the service of educating the Hungarian youth in the spirit of chauvinism and revisionism will have to be brought to light and prevented."

In conclusion the communique expresses a sincere wish for fine coexistence and a climate of cooperation between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples and shows that every necessary step should be taken to prevent what happened in between the two world wars from happening again and to create a friendly atmosphere between the two peoples.

Defense Minister Spiroiu on Ethnic, Army Issues

AU0411213591 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, by Aurel Perva and Gavrila Inoan; place and date not given: "There Is Nothing Left to Democratize in the Army"]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. Minister, all sorts of problems have arisen of late in connection with Transylvania. What is your view on them?

[Spiroiu] Judging from the information we have in connection with concrete actions of the Hungarian diaspora and extremist circles in Hungary, it is a clear-cut fact that they are linked to Transylvania, as was the case with previous such actions. I do not know whether they want to take such actions in a military context, but, in any case, they pursue an internationalization of the issue and possibly the launching of interethnic or other forms of conflicts. I cannot make concrete specifications. However, it is clear that there are such intentions. I am drawing these conclusions from attempts to slander and deceive the public in connection with realities in Transylvania, the land that actually represents the cradle of

the Romanian nation. The tendency I was mentioning clearly exists. Certainly, if you talk to the Hungarian population, with the Szeklers [Hungarian-speaking group], and people in the street, they will not say the same thing. On the contrary, they know that they have always lived on very good terms with their neighbors and Romanian brothers. I believe that it is especially the intellectuals who have this tendency to seek tension and to profit from any kind of split and dissatisfaction—and all of us have such dissatisfactions—to give rise to a situation of insecurity. What can I tell you: The Army is determined and especially able to do its duty. However, I am sure we will not get to that point. There is enough goodwill and reason on both sides. I personally have appreciated a number of statements made by officials when I met with parliamentarians, with whom I had very interesting discussions. I noted correct opinions, especially when it comes to Mr. Geza Domokos.

This situation must change, which, in my opinion, is fanned absolutely artificially.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, we have received a letter in our office from an organization called "Young Officers." It was addressed to the president, the prime minister, and the defense minister.

[Spiroiu] I have not received such a letter.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Very interesting! That letter firmly demanded the removal of some officers in charge of political military training from the Army and from their positions. Then the letter made some social demands. What is your opinion about this, because this group contends that it rallies officers belonging to the lower ranks and up to majors.

[Spiroiu] First of all, I am convinced that if you verify this thing you will note that the names are false ones. I myself have not received such a letter, and I will tell you why. The explanation is that I have very many links and contacts with young officers. I think I have met with hundreds of young officers. We understand each other very well; I am familiar with their concerns and problems. What is interesting is the fact that I understand them, because I have also gone through such difficulties. Maybe I had to face many more difficult problems in my military activity. You see, CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] no longer exists in the Army. As a matter of fact, CADA never existed in the Army. There was only a group called CADA. Some of its officers are still in the Army doing their duty; they are good officers. Therefore, CADA does not exit. It is, if you will, a name paraded by some of the officers who belonged to CADA, and it is also paraded by certain social and political forces that are trying to destabilize the Army, to give the impression that the Army is also facing problems, and to suggest that this last support and hope of our people is unstable. However, they will not succeed in conveying this impression. I assure you that there are no such manifestations in the Army. Personally, I advised the secretaries of state and the commanders with whom I held meetings to have contacts with all subordinate staff down to the youngest member. I advised all of them to maintain these contacts, to achieve this osmosis and transition, so that no artificial strata may appear. Certainly, the Army is a hierarchical body but, in order to operate properly, there has to exist the osmosis I mentioned between the hierarchical levels. And it seems that this is functioning. Young officers would have no reason to use the means you mentioned. A great number of these officers have called on me in my office. I want to tell you that I entered the national defense minister's office after I had served 29 years in the Army. And even then, I was summoned and did not ask to be received. As I was saying, all ranks of officers call at my office, and this is only natural if I want to achieve the aforementioned osmosis. I can say that the Army is the most democratic body.

This is the reason why so many people prefer to work in the Army. Life proceeds according to laws, rules, and regulations, and none of these regulations is just for chiefs or just for subordinate staff. They compel both the chiefs and their subordinate staff to observe the same rules. Can you wish for more democracy than that? The commander, for instance, has to listen to the proposals and reports of the chiefs of subdivisions and finally to adopt a decision on that basis. What else do you want? Thus, in my view, there is nothing left to democratize in the Army. We have work to do with regard to interhuman relations. A chief should not view himself as a satrap. This way of thinking has to be opposed. One can say that the Army is getting democratized, together with society. The military institution is not in a sort of sterile test tube, protected from what is happening in society. We are struggling to stop a number of negative phenomena in society from making their way into the Army, and often we succeed in our efforts. Therefore, we will be even more firm than before, we will cut with a scalpel, as we say, because only in this way will we be able to protect the military institution against these harmful phenomena. Unfortunately, sometimes one can note in the press real proof of lack of patriotism by certain journalists who refer to the Army in a completely dishonorable way. It is a pity that this country's clean soul should be poisoned by a poor-quality press.

Returning to the questions discussed in the letter you mentioned, I can tell you that the majority of those who were in charge of political activity have been placed in the reserves. However, we retained those staff members who were incorporated into this body in a somewhat forced way. They were either scientific research workers, technicians in the Army studios, or other such officers, and noncommissioned officers. It has to be clear that some of the Army commanders were automatically incorporated into the political bodies if they held a certain military position, without this turning them into political activists. You can tell the young officers who wrote the letter that I am waiting for them here in my office, whenever time permits, in order to discuss things with them. However, I am convinced that those youngsters do not exist.

International

EC Views Sanctions If Peace Process Fails

LD0411192191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Brussels, November 4 (TANJUG)—The European Community foreign ministers opened in Brussels on Monday their regular session to decide on possible economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, or against those Yugoslav republics, which, in their view, did not contribute to the peace process within The Hague conference.

Judging from the statements of the E.C. ministers, in other words, Serbia was targeted, although it was set out that it would be spared if it did not reject the document at The Hague conference on Yugoslavia plenary on Tuesday as prepared by Lord Carrington and Hans van den Broek.

The suspension of the agreement between the E.C. and Yugoslavia, and its elimination from the Western economic program for development central and eastern European countries, introduction of an oil embargo and blocking of Yugoslav accounts with foreign banks, were the main points for possible sanctions, which the E.C. on its own or together with other countries, would impose against Yugoslavia, i.e., more specifically, at this time, against Serbia.

The E.C. is to request the United Nations Security Council to support some of its sanctions, because the oil embargo would not be efficient unless cooperation of the Soviet Union, Libya and Iran was secured.

Certain E.C. members have reservations as regards the proposals for sanctions as formulated by the European Commission. It is claimed that these reservations were more of a legal nature or that they express doubts that an embargo could produce the hoped for effects.

Greece fears the consequences which could affect it, especially if Serbia retaliated with counter-measures. Should this happen, it has in advance demanded compensation from its European partners for the possible damage.

EC-Sponsored Conference on Yugoslavia Reconvenes

Carrington Holds Presummit Talks

AU0511120091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Milorad Denda report from The Hague]

[Text] While we are reporting, the new Yugoslav summit devoted to the future of the Yugoslav state should be starting here in The Hague. Present here are the presidents of the six republics, eight members of the SFRY Presidency, and Army General Veljko Kadijevic. The beginning of the plenary session scheduled for 1100 [1000 GMT] has been postponed because of the bilateral meetings that were called by Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia. He held talks with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic. A meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is also expected.

These meetings will no doubt serve to clarify stands for the new fourth version of the document for solving the Yugoslav crisis and the amendment sent by Milosevic and Bulatovic last night. The essence of this amendment is that the existence of Yugoslavia should be reaffirmed in general provisions of the document in a more elaborate form than it was done previously, and that the existence of the state community with state continuity and international status [subjektivitet] should be identified. This does not encroach on the rights and interests of those who are leaving. Similarly, the solutions for those who are leaving Yugoslavia cannot be to the detriment of the peoples and republics who want to continue to live in the joint state.

As we have learned, Lord Carrington is holding talks with General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. All these are bilateral meetings prior to the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, which should begin any minute now.

Milosevic Speech on EC 'Threats'

AU0511163491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Announcer-read "full text" of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's speech in The Hague on 5 November]

[Text] Before I say anything regarding the document, I want to say that the Republic of Serbia, all political institutions in the Republic of Serbia, including its parliament, the citizens of Serbia and the Serbian people throughout the country received the ultimatum and threats contained in the EC declaration of 28 October 1991 with great indignation. We are rejecting this ultimatum, considering it an act of pressure and violence incompatible with the democratic order that we wish to build in Europe, as well as an act that crudely violates the equality of the sides taking part in the conference in The Hague.

At the same time, the contents of this declaration represents an act contrary to the stands that the Community itself has proclaimed regarding Yugoslavia, such as the role of the EC in the form of good services in seeking a solution acceptable to all republics and peoples, goodwill in accepting proposals and suggestions, belief that the agreement concerns above all the question of the republics and peoples of Yugoslavia, and that Yugoslavia should be preserved, something that included a condemnation of separatism as an intention to reach aims by one-sided acts and violent undemocratic methods.

Regarding all these EC conclusions, we are asking ourselves whether such a deviation [udaljavanje] from the initial task really should have taken place, so that even some permanent Security Council members had to react recently and issue a reminder that it is irresponsible and superficial to proceed from the idea that Yugoslavia no longer exists as a state, and that the Yugoslav peoples should decide about their future.

On our reserves concerning the first chapter, I want to say that we have never and also cannot now agree to Yugoslavia being written off with the stroke of a pen, that is, with the approach that Yugoslavia no longer exists. I have already presented the reasons for our taking such a stand and I do not want to repeat them. Primarily for this reason I think that only an equal treatment of the possibility of Yugoslavia existing as a common state for those who want to preserve it would solve the problems concerning the first chapter.

Since the introduction of the new point C already means a step forward regarding the understanding and respect for an equal treatment of different options, I think that precisely with regard to this equal treatment, accepting the proposal jointly presented by President Bulatovic and myself should not present any problem for the conference.

By introducing the option of a joint state into the document, the conference would in fact affirm its initial stand of equal importance for and treatment of all options.

If the right to live in one joint state is recognized for the peoples who want to remain in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia's continuity and status [subjektivitet] would be ensured, because it is certain that a majority of its citizens want this. I would like to quote a stand from the report that UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar submitted to the Security Council a few days ago, on 25 October:

The SFRY is a founder country of the UN organization. There are few member countries that have contributed to the work of the world organization with more vision and effectiveness over many years. It is not surprising, therefore, that Yugoslavia and its peoples have enjoyed great respect and have been met with goodwill by the United Nations members. Therefore, the world organization regrets all the more the situation in which this country finds itself.

The proposals that President Bulatovic and I submitted yesterday are simply directed toward underlining this fact. I particularly want to point to the fact that adopting our proposals in no way and to nobody's detriment prejudges the issue of the succession of rights and obligations, which the (?covering note) reserves for future negotiations.

In connection with the solutions from the first chapter, I would like to draw attention to the need for a consistent respect for the specific constitutional situation of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to which the status of this republic cannot be decided on without the consent of the three equal and constitutional nations that live in it.

On resolving the position and rights of the Serbian people in Croatia, who are the essence of the Yugoslav crisis and the tragic war in Croatia, I ask myself whether anyone can really still believe—even today, after the tragic events of the last few days, the destruction of dozens of Serbian villages, and the displacement of the Serbs in Western Slavonia—that the Serbs in both Krajinas could be kept under the sovereignty and guarantees of the Croatian authorities. We must finally realize that the insistence that the Serbs in the two Serbian regions remain under the sovereignty of the Croatian authorities is out of touch with reality and shows no sense of responsibility for the consequences of such a solution, which overlooks continuous genocide.

I want to emphasize that special protection for those who are left of the peoples who were subjected to genocide is a moral duty of the international community, as was emphasized in the United Nations during the adoption of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Not a single national, religious, or ethnic minority in Yugoslavia has experienced genocide or genocidal programs, except Serbs, Jews, and Romanies. Therefore, we are firmly convinced that a solution this conference should adopt can only be the solution that the peoples that live on that territory will accept. Only then can this be a truly just and permanent solution, the president of Serbia stressed.

This solution makes the control and guarantees of the international community necessary. Therefore, we are not talking about the aspirations for a Greater Serbia, but merely the protection of the basic liberties of and safety for the Serbian nation.

The position and rights of the ethnic groups or national minorities must be regulated on the basis of the accepted international obligations and standards in other European countries. Any other solution would discriminate against Yugoslavia and its republics in comparison with other CSCE countries, and would result in a rise of separatism, that is to say, the spreading of instability, crises, and clashes on Yugoslav territory.

We expect the conference to embark on the adequate elaboration, clarification, and coordination of other chapters in the proposed document in the course of its future work. We have been and will continue to put forward our proposals.

Serbia Rejects Document; Talks End

AU0511144091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Nov 11

[Milorad Denda report from The Hague]

[Excerpt] It has not been stated officially yet, but it has unofficially been learned that after only one hour of work

the conference on Yugoslavia was adjourned, that is, postponed for an indefinite period of time. Lord Carrington concluded that unless the new 12th truce or cease-fire that has been agreed today is observed until Friday, he will propose at a meeting of EC ministers in Rome that the conference on Yugoslavia be postponed indefinitely; in other words be stopped. If the cease-fire is observed, he will not cancel the conference.

The cease-fire was agreed today in the talks between Lord Carrington and President Tudjman, Croatian Defense Minister Susak, and the Supreme Commander Tus, and the Federal Secretary for National Defense General Veljko Kadijevic.

Lord Carrington also held talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Before the plenary session, the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic respectively, presented an amendment envisaging the possibility of a joint state of equal republics and peoples who want to remain in Yugoslavia, in their joint state. This amendment was not accepted by the other participants. Serbia did not accept the offered proposal of the new document and Lord Carrington concluded that there was no agreement on Article One of the proposed document. He will brief the EC ministers about this on Friday. They will decide on the fate of the conference on Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Russia Opposes Economic Embargo Against Serbia

AU0511103191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Russia would not join those countries that plan to introduce an economic embargo against Serbia. This was stated today by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian legislature, during a conversation with Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party [of Serbia].

Tupurkovski Meets Genscher, De Michelis in Brussels

AU0511112991 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, is visiting Brussels where the session of the EC Council of Ministers is being held. Today he had separate meetings with German and Italian foreign ministers, Genscher and De Michelis. Tupurkovski told his interlocutors about Macedonia's position in the present Yugoslav crisis and asked for their support for the security and integrity of the republic. He expressed the hope that Macedonia will be granted international recognition during the negotiations within the framework of the conference on Yugoslavia.

Federal

Milosevic, Bulatovic Proposal for Hague Talks

LD0411193191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Taking their common stands contained in the Belgrade initiative as the main points of departure on the eve of tomorrow's plenary session of the conference in The Hague, Momir Bulatovic and Slobodan Milosevic, presidents of the republics of Montenegro and Serbia, have put forward a common proposal of amendments to the first chapter of the main Hague document, under which the document should include, on an equal basis, the option on the continuity of Yugoslavia as a common state of equal republics and nations wishing to remain in Yugoslavia. According to a statement, the two presidents proceed from the view that a just and lasting solution to the Yugoslav crisis is possible providing an equal treatment of the proposed options is ensured.

All Presidency Members To Attend Hague Forum

LD0411200591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1944 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned from sources close to the SFRY Presidency that all eight members of the Presidency will attend a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague tomorrow. TANJUG has also learned that Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, are already in The Hague.

Presidency Session Considers New EC Document

LD0411220491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 4 (TANJUG)—A session of the Yugoslav Presidency, which was chaired by Vice President Branko Kostic, was held in Belgrade this evening. The Presidency considered the amended text of the document prepared for the plenary meeting of the conference for Yugoslavia in The Hague on Tuesday, November 5. The stands of the Yugoslav Presidency on this document will be presented at tomorrow's session in The Hague by Vice President Kostic, it was announced tonight.

The session was attended by four of the eight members of the collective head of state—representatives of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and Serbia's provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, and also Assembly of Yugoslavia President Slobodan Gligorijevic, Federal Interior Secretary Petar Gracanin, and Deputy Federal Defence Secretary Admiral Stane Brovet.

Markovic Considered 'Bankruptcy Estate Manager'

LD0211081291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1006 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 1 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that "many circumstances indicate that the only role left for the Yugoslav Federal Government and Prime Minister Ante Markovic to play is that of Yugoslavia's bankruptcy estate manager."

The paper warns that "the reform programme of the federal government has definitely collapsed," and notes that "subsequent analyses will show that by undermining Markovic's reform programme, Yugoslavia has mined its own future."

"The duties of the federal government have been reduced to merely coordinating activities in transport, the oil industry, interventions with buffer stocks and the like ... and this holds true also for all the other federal institutions," says the pro-government paper and adds that the federal parliament and the federal presidency no longer exist.

BORBA goes on to say that Markovic has no intention of resigning, and explains that the federal prime minister is waiting to hear what the Yugoslav republics will say to the European Community proposals. "Should all the Yugoslav republics accept the E.C. proposal that Yugoslavia become an association of sovereign republics with a customs union as a connecting tissue, the federal government would act as coordinator and bankruptcy estate manager," says BORBA.

The paper stresses that "it would soon turn out that a customs union is too narrow for normal life ... and Markovic expects the interests of capital to dictate to politics a return to reforms and everything else that the federal government had planned to do under its development and reform programme."

Serbia-Montenegro Unification Referendum 1 Dec

LD0411171691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—A referendum will be held on 1 December to decide on the unification of a common state to be called Serbia and Montenegro. The referendum is being organized by the Movement for the Unification of Serbia and Montenegro. This was announced in Belgrade today by the organizers of the referendum, who also insist that the referendum will be a political rather than legal act since any official decision must be made by the assemblies of the two republics. [passage omitted]

Slovenia

Kucan: Sanctions Cannot Alter Sovereignty Decision

AU0411193891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Interview with Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, by correspondent Edo Zitnik in Ljubljana on 4 November—recorded]

[Text] [Zitnik] Mr. Kucan, the Slovene delegation is travelling to The Hague tomorrow. Supposedly, the delegation has already received a new amended proposal by Lord Carrington, which provides a sort of orientation for your stance in The Hague tomorrow. What will be your stance in The Hague tomorrow, and what will the Slovene strategy in general be like in The Hague?

[Kucan] In accordance with Lord Carrington's initial position that Yugoslav republics are those that are taking on the responsibility for resolving the Yugoslav crisis and that they are equal regarding their decisions about their future position, Carrington's proposal envisages an option that will enable the republics that wish to do so to freely form a free assocation of sovereign states or, if they wish, even to form a joint state, which is a novelty. We understand that this comes as a result of Serbia's insistence on this solution.

So far, the third option envisaging recognition of full independence and autonomy of those republics that seek it—and Slovenia is most certainly one of them—still (?has not been included) in this document. Just like in the past, we will again advocate that, in accordance with the principle of equality of all decisions, this option also be concretized and elaborated upon. For this purpose we have prepared corresponding amendments (?to this document).

Besides, I think that at the conference tomorrow we must try to clarify the purpose of a constant threat— I would say almost a manipulation—with economic sanctions. I do not believe that it is possible that sanctions, or the threat of sanctions, make those republics that do not want peace and that want to reach their objectives by war equal to those republics that wish to assert their interests through peace talks, that is to say, through an institution of democratic negotiations at the Hague conference.

I also do not believe that it is possible to use sanctions as a form of pressure equally convincingly and with the same democratic arguments when decisions by the republics about their future are in question as to end a war. [Passage indistinct] that we do not dispute the right of nations, that is to say, citizens of the republics, to self-determination. If sanctions are used against Slovenia because Slovenia will accept neither the option of a free association nor the option of a joint state, then Slovenes will have to state very clearly that these sanctions cannot alter Slovenia's decision.

Croatia

Tudjman To Head Croatian Delegation to Hague

LD0411192591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] At the invitation of Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman leaves tomorrow for The Hague to attend the plenary session of the conference, the president's office announced today.

President Tudjman will be accompanied by Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, Gojko Susak, minister of defense of the Republican of Croatia; Colonel General Anton Tus, chief of general staff of the Republic of Croatia; and Hrvoje Sarenic, head of the office of the president of the republic.

Minister Doubts EC Sanctions Effectiveness

AU0411215791 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2107 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Studio interview with Croatian Information Minister Branco Salaj by news announcer Robert Hochner in Vienna; live—Salaj speaks in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. Minister, before discussing politics I would like to ask you something: What do you, as a Croat, feel when you see on television—also here in our reports—how your country is being systematically destroyed?

[Salaj] There is a feeling of mourning and turmoil, because we must ask ourselves who gave somebody the right to attack a country and to destroy this country to such an extent that several thousand people are killed, must die, that tens of thousands are injured, and that Europe is looking on without doing anything efficient.

[Hochner] Well, Europe is just in the process of doing something efficient. The EC has decided on sanctions, which will be implemented on 7 November if Belgrade does not give in at the last moment. Do you expect the EC sanctions—as much as you know about them—will bring about a change in the thinking of the Belgrade leadership and the Army?

[Salaj] I cannot believe that. I believe that so far experience has shown that economic sanctions and attempts to impose economic sanctions are not sufficient. What is planned now is certainly a step into the right direction, but I am afraid that these measures will not be sufficient to bring a militaristic power, a fascist power, which is based on weapons and on the occupation of territory, to its senses.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, you yourself spoke of fascist forces. On the side of the Croatian forces there is the militia of the Party of Rights, who go to war wearing the symbol of the hated Ustasha on their uniforms. Are the Serbs not—let us say—a bit right when they say that they are also fighting against fascists, if you think of this militia of the Party of Rights?

[Salaj] The Croatians are certainly not better than other peoples and we have fascists and Nazis just like other peoples. However, you must understand that the resistance in our country took place in a very unorganized manner, that groups simply united for self-defense. Until recently we did not have an army, a military. We were not permitted to have an army. We only had police forces. We did not have weapons. In this situation, in a situation in which there seemed to be no hope for effective defense, such fascist organizations emerged, too. However, we clearly condemned these forces while the same, or similar, forces on the Serbian side are not only not condemned but are presented as Milosevic's most important allies.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, in conclusion one question: Croatia has long struggled for recognition by the European states. It seems that several European states are now—better late than never—willing to recognize Croatia. What would change for your country if some EC states, neighbors Italy, or Austria were to recognize Croatia as an independent state?

[Salaj] This would be very important for us, because this would open up opportunities for normal relations—cultural and political relations, agreements and talks about activities at the international level, and, finally, also for more effective aid in combating the aggressor on our territory.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, thank you very much for the interview and I wish you and, above all, your compatriots, all the best. Thank you.

Tomac Terms Carrington Plan 'Dangerous'

AU0511095191 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by "IBD": "Carrington Plan Dangerous For Croatia"]

[Text] Vienna—Croatian Information Minister Branko Salaj told the press in Vienna on 4 November that Europe must immediately withdraw recognition from Yugoslavia as an international subject. Doing so tomorrow would be too late. He said that in a secret session, the remains of the Belgrade Presidency decided to wage an "all-out war of destruction" against Croatia.

Vice Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac of the Zagreb government said that Croatia accepts the confederation plan presented by EC conference chairman Lord Carrington, because the country does not have any other alternative, even though it is inconceivable to form a confederation, no matter how loose it may be, with "enemies who destroy us." He added that "our future alliance partners are the central European democracies."

"The Carrington plan is very dangerous for Croatia. It does not envisage a measure to immediately stop the war, which has not been noted by The Hague," the politician said, commenting on the plan. "Economic sanctions are not enough. Every day that the attack on our country continues threatens to become the scenario of realpolitik. Then people will say that we will have to put up with the actual state of affairs, and that unfortunately, we lost half of our territory and have to take what is left."

Croat Serbs Urge Rejection of Hague Document

LD0411181291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—On behalf of Serbs from Croatia we appeal to the Assembly of Serbia and Serbia's representatives not to sign any of The Hague documents. These documents are not only detrimental but are also offensive and degrading for the Serbian nation as a whole, and for Serbs in Croatia in particular. This is stressed in an appeal sent by the Novi Sad-based Association of Serbs in Croatia to the Republic of Serbia Assembly.

In our view, the association says, it is necessary to insist on the intervention of the United Nations since the EC, because of its motives and interests, "has failed to recognize the most sinister terrorism and rampant fascims and unprecedented crimes which are being committed against not just the Serbian nation but against the entire progressive world".

Raseta Criticizes Croatia Decision on YPA Pullout

LD0411180391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The 16 October decision of the Croatian Government that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] must leave the territory of this republic by 10 November is one-sided. It is not in line with the accords and agreements which are being concluded with the mediation of the European Community. Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Raseta stated this today to journalists. He is the main YPA negotiator with the Croatian authorities and the Croatian army. Raseta said that this decision does not place obligations on the YPA but added that "it represents psychological propaganda pressure on the members of the YPA as well as a threat that they and their families may be maltreated."

In connection with tomorrow's meeting in The Hague, General Raseta emphasized that issues which concern the armed forces should be spelled out more decisively, so that the talks will not drag on and thus reduce the chance for a peaceful solution.

I am otherwise convinced that peace can be achieved, but this primarily depends on the Republic of Croatia. Even if the war escalates, we will still have to sit down after that and reach an agreement, which means that it is better to do so as soon as possible to avoid further casualties and destruction, General Raseta said.

He thinks that the Croatian side in the talks is deliberately dragging its feet "in order to apply measures after 10 November" to make the members of the YPA "its prisoners of war." This is being done, General Raseta said, "even at the expense of still greater destruction."

In conclusion, General Raseta said that "the YPA has tried everything to solve the crisis in a peaceful manner," that "even now it has not yet engaged all its potential," and that most of the units "are still passive".

Nevertheless I am optimistic that peace will be achieved, but the other side must observe the accords, General Raseta emphasized.

Views Zagreb Negotiations, Air Raids

AU0411213691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Interview with General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District and head of military delegation conducting talks in Zagreb, by correspondent Nada Alisa in Zagreb on 4 November—recorded]

[Text] [Alisa] We asked General Andrija Raseta today why there have been no results in the talks in Zagreb that have been going on for such a long time.

[Raseta] For me, the main problem is that the Republic of Croatia is, so to speak, delaying the intention of fulfilling the obligations and demands that it sets—namely, to ensure that the Yugoslav People's Army is faced with a fait accompli, if I can put it like that, and that those conditions that are set by the Republic of Croatia are fulfilled.

[Alisa] As is known, during yesterday's visit to the Marshal Tito barracks by mothers of soldiers from Serbia who are doing their service in Zagreb, the order was given that only journalists from Belgrade editorial boards could enter the barracks, while Zagreb and foreign journalists could not enter the building. The news has circulated around Zagreb that you, Mr. General, personally gave this order. Is this right?

[Raseta] Well, it was agreed that in principle only what was in the convoy could enter the Marshal Tito barracks.

[Alisa] In Zagreb there are frequent air raid alarms. Yesterday the planes flew over the capital of Croatia three times, and also today around 1200 there was an air raid alarm. We are interested in your opinion. Why are there actually air raid alarms in Zagreb, or what is going on?

[Raseta] Well, there are alarms... I do not know how to explain and what to say because you can see that in spite of all these alarms nothing is happening.

[Alisa] One day a transformer was bombed or attacked by rockets in [word indistinct] Velika Gorica. These were apparent actions by Yugoslav planes. So, what happened in Velika Gorica, just 20 kilometers from Zagreb?

[Raseta] If you saw the rocket attack, then I would believe you, but it was not that.

Party of Justice Fighters Join Croatian Forces

AU0511093791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] It appears that the Croatian forces have suffered great losses lately. This is what perhaps inspired the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs to hold negotiations with the Croatian Party of Justice on the inclusion of members of the HOS [Croatian Defense Forces] in the Croatian defense ranks. Nada Alsisa reports from Zagreb:

[Alsisa] Members of the HOS will be taking part in the defense of Croatia in the future. This was agreed during the talks between the representatives of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Defense Ministry, on the one hand, and the leader of the Croatian Party of Justice, on the other. This was announced by Dobroslav Paraga, leader of the Party of Justice.

The current situation, Mr. Paraga says, demands unity in the Croatian Army. We agreed on how members of the HOS will be moving in Zagreb in the future. This means that they are forbidden to carry arms in the town. They can only carry arms on the battlefields. The HOS' training camps should be included in the unified defense preparations of Croatia in the future.

No Results at Army-Croatia Dubrovnik Negotiations

LD0411155591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Cavtat, 4 Nov (TANJUG)— Today's round of negotiations between representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Dubrovnik authorities, held in Cavtat in the presence of the EC peace mission, has not produced any concrete results, TANJUG has learned. A new round of talks on conditions to normalize the situation in Dubrovnik has been convened for Thursday, 6 November [date as received].

Army Poisonous Gas Use in Dubrovnik 'Fabrication'

LD0411224991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Hercegnovi, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel Radoslav Svicevic, Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] negotiator in the Dubrovnik area, today described as a fabrication reports that the Army, with the help of submarines, is attacking Dubrovnik and using poisonous substances.

According to Svicevic, the YPA does not possess poisonous substances and therefore it cannot use them. He added that the YPA wants the EC mission to hear what the other side has to say, and not to accept as a fact everything that it is told by the Croatian representatives. Lt. Col. Svicevic today energetically argued against the statement made by Luke Daras, a member of the EC mission, who told a BBC team that two hotels were hit in Dubrovnik on 2 November.

In connection with today's mortar shelling of the YPA units from a Dubrovnik fortress, the information service of the Boka naval sector also noted in its statement "that it is becoming clear who is using Dubrovnik for political ends, although the confused Ustasha-fascist policy of the extremists from the Croatian Democratic Community has already for a long time been attempting to show that someone else wants to destroy the town of Dubrovnik."

"The gentlemen of the town of Dubrovnik, the statement adds, should ask themselves whether the other side will come to the point of starting to think in their manner. Let us hope that after that the esteemed gentlemen will realize that according to the international law on war, every place from which gunfire is opened becomes a military target," the statement emphasizes.

Army Denies Actions in 'Old Part' of Dubrovnik

LD0511101991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The Army undertook absolutely no actions overnight against the old part of Dubrovnik, the Boka naval sector command announced in response to reports this morning by some sections of the media. "The dissementation of such reports is designed to divert attention from the destructive actions against the positions and units of the Yugoslav People's Army carried out from the Dubrovnik fortresses by Croatian paramilitary formations," the command says. The Boka naval sector command notes that these "dirty pieces of disinformation are refuted by the state of the old town which has been completely preserved."

Vukovar Under Attack 'From All Directions'

LD0411211591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] According to the Croatian Army Command, today's fighting on the Vinkovci-Vukovar battlefield has been the heaviest so far, especially in Vukovar. During the day, Vukovar was attacked from all directions. More than 30 tanks and troop carriers joined the battle. Twenty tanks were destroyed.

Aircraft overflew the area eight times. The center of Vukovar and its hospital were again hit by 500 kg cluster bombs. The hospital was also hit by about 100 rockets and shells. After artillery attacks on Vukovar, Borovo Naselje, Bogdanovci and Luzac, about 1,500 enemy

soldiers entered the battle. Fierce fighting went on until late afternoon and in some areas continued after 1900. The Croatian army put most of the aggressors and Chetnik fighters out of action and repulsed all attacks. The Vukovar defenders today shot down five army aircraft.

North of Vinkovci, the enemy attacks on Nustar and Ceric, which are in the hands of the Croatian forces, were mainly carried out from a distance. Vinkovci was shelled throughout the day, mainly from multiple rocket launchers.

General Staff Reaffirms Intention To Hold Vukovar

LD0511142491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Statement by the General Staff of the Croatian Army "in response to various rumors and fabrications concerning the situation in Vukovar"—read by announcer]

[Text] Over the last few days, since the onset of enemy offensives against Vukovar, there have appeared in the media and among the public various intepretations, comments, and explanations about the situation in Vukovar. Many rumors are being spread about this in an attempt to compromise the General Staff of the Croatian Army and the leadership of Croatia. The General Staff has therefore found it necessary to inform the public about the real situation concerning Vukovar.

As a strategic operative stronghold on the Eastern Slavonia front, Vukovar is the second gateway along the operative line which the forces of the Yugoslav Army and Chetniks are using to advance along the Sremska Mitrovica-Sid-Vinkovci-Osijek corridor. It is of particular importance to ensure that Vukovar does not fall. This would enable the enemy to lay the siege of Vinkovci by a speedy maneuver and approach Osijek from the south thus allowing the enemy to encircle it. Both sides are aware of this.

Despite the concentration of very strong armored and mechanized forces the enemy side has failed to conquer Vukovar. The opposition has therefore deployed the entire Tuzla corps on the territory south of the Sava River with the aim of advancing via Zupanja and Brcko toward the north.

Fighting around Vukovar has been particularly fierce especially along the communication line Vinkovci-Vukovar in the direction of Vinkovci-Nustar-Marinci-Bogdanovci. Since the enemy has failed to completely cut off the above communication line, it has resorted to disinformation by exploiting the genuinely difficult situation in Vukovar. To this end the enemy on several occasions announced that it has conquered Vukovar, offered freedom and an end to its operations if (Jastreb Hawk), the commander of the Vukovar defenses, surrenders. It has not allowed any humanitarian aid into the town.

The General Staff of the Croatian forces has been acting intensively to free the Vinkovci-Vukovar communication line, to repel the aggressor to an acceptable distance from it, to lift the blockade of Vukovar and fortify its positions on this exceptionally important part of the battlefront.

In view of the fact that operations by the Croatian forces are under way, any more detailed explanation of our activities could be detrimental to the Croatian forces. In conclusion, we wish to state responsibly that the General Staff of the Croatian Army and its command are doing their utmost to defend Vukovar and its population. There can therefore be no talk about the town being forgotten or sacrificed. The dissemenation of the above claims is part of the enemy's premeditated propaganda designed to cause divisions in our public and within our defense forces . We will not allow this. This attempt to discredit the (Croatian) leadership and the General Staff must not succeed. Vukovar will continue to be defended successfully, the General Staff of the Croatian Army says in the statement.

TV Depicts Destroyed Serbian Villages in Slavonia

AU0411211591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Let us remind you again what was the reason for the dramatic pictures and confessions of the Serbian people that you have just seen.

By a decision of the Croatian leadership, Serbs in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia were ordered in an ultimatum-like manner to leave their villages. They were told that they are allowed to take with them the most basic personal items and valuable items. They were also told that absolute personal safety would be guaranteed, namely, that they would be accompanied to the destination of their choice. Serbs were given a 7 November deadline to evacuate the villages.

In the attacks by the Ustasha formations 16 villages were completely burned down and destroyed while other villages were also damaged. These village are: Velika Barna, Mala Peratovica, Dapcevica, Dapcevacki Brdjani, Turcevic Polje, Loncarima, Mala Brana, Mala Jasenovaca, Velika Peratovica, Mali Grdjevac, Zrinska, Sibenik, Ceremusina, Rasenica, and two weeks ago Backovica and Cadjevac. Residents of the following villages in the region of Slavonska Pozega have been moved out and taken to labor camps: Gornji Vrhovci, Kantarevci, Poljanska, Odzakovci, Klisa Pozeska, Markova Pozeski, Jezici, Vranici, Milivojevici, Podsrece, Snijegovic, Jeminovac, Vucjak, and Oblakovac. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Assembly Considers Hague Plan in Closed Session

AU0411184891

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1711 GMT on 4 November begins a seven-minute live relay of the Serbian Assembly session in Belgrade, at which tomorrow's conference in the Hague is to be discussed. All members of the Serbian Government and Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic are present.

Aleksandar Bakocevic, Serbian Assembly president, opens the session with the proposal that the Assembly adopts a declaration "on the genocide that has been taking place in the last three days in the Serbian villages around Daruvar." He then proceeds to read out the declaration, which says:

"The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia points out to the whole democratic public the horrible events that have been taking place in the last three days in the Serbian villages surrounding Daruvar. The Assembly has with bitterness become aware of reports from which it can be seen that Croatian armed formations, armed with heavy weapons, have destroyed more than 20 unprotected villages, populated mainly by Serbs, which are out of the scope and protection of the Yugoslav People's Army. Many houses have been set on fire and, half a century after similar pogroms in World War II, the Serbian population of these regions is fleeing without protection in the face of crazed destruction and mass slaughter and killing in the region of the Papuk and Psunj mountains.

"The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia appeals to democratic Europe to demand that the Croatian authorities stop this terrible genocide and assess what it would mean for the survival of 100,000 Serbs in the threatened areas of Croatia who are now without the protection of the Yugoslav People's Army to be handed over to the mercy of the Croatian authorities. All those who want a political solution and justice for all Yugoslav peoples, including the Serbian people, must realize that the Serbian population in the threatened areas in Serbia must be defended by all and particularly military means. Any political solution that aspires to be permanent must contain clear and precise provisions on the protection of 100,000 people whose fate is under more threat now than the fate of any other ethnic group or people in the whole of Europe."

The declaration is unanimously adopted. Bakocevic then puts to a vote the proposal by the Serbian Government that the part of the session to discuss the new version of the Hague documents on resolving the Yugoslav state political crisis be closed to the public. The deputies adopt the proposal and the session is immediately proclaimed closed.

Terms Document 'Unacceptable'

LD0411215691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—"The latest version of The Hague document is unacceptable to Serbia but that does not mean that Serbia is closing the door to Europe and that negotiations to resolve the Yugoslav crisis will not continue". This was stated to TANJUG by Pavic Obradovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly, following a three-hour session behind closed doors. The conclusions reached at the Serbian Assembly session, which at the same time will constitute the platform for Serbia's stand at the session in The Hague tomorrow, are expected to be distrbuted to journalists soon.

Rejects EC 'Ultimatums' for Peace

LD0411222591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—At a closed sitting this evening, the Serbian People's Assembly ratified its line that representatives of Serbia should continue to take part in seeking just and acceptable solutions to the Yugoslav crisis. "However," state the decisions adopted by a majority vote at the sitting, "we vigorously reject threats and ultimatums which are aimed against the vital and legitimate interests of the Serbian people and the Republic of Serbia in Yugoslavia".

The Serbian People's Assembly backs the right of those peoples and republics that want to remain within a common state, and also backs the principle of continuity in the existence of Yugoslavia, it was stated this evening. It was further stated that the adoption of the Montenegrin representative's amendment in The Hague was a partial first step to that end.

"Solutions to establishing the lasting peace and existence of the Serbian people within the present day administrative borders of Croatia cannot be found within the competence of the Croatian authorities," is the next conclusion of the Serbian assembly. The document for the Hague conference must set out guarantees and modalities offering full protection to the Serbian population in the territories where they have lived for centuries, it is further stated.

It is wholly unacceptable and unprecedented that obligations should be imposed on Serbia greater than those contained in all internationally adopted and recognized documents, the decisions stressed in conclusion, expressing the hope that conditions will be opened up at the Hague conference for a peaceful and just settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Socialist Party Rejects Hague Document

LD0411164491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)— With all its goodwill and desire to accept a peaceful resolution to the Yugoslav crisis and further negotiations, Serbia cannot accept the latest version of the Hague document since it violates the basic principles of international law, the CSCE document, and the Paris Charter as well as the most basic ethical norms.

Dr. Mihajlo Markovic, vice president of the main committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], said this at a news conference today. In an explanation of the standpoints adopted today by the SPS main committee at a session that lasted several hours, Markovic said that the party outlined the following three points as the minimum that Serbia will agree upon at the negotiations in The Hague:

1. It can accept that the existing region of Serbian Krajina in Croatia should come under international trusteeship, that the army should withdraw from the region only after international forces are installed there, and that the population of the region should be allowed to decide where to live at a referendum under international auspices.

2. The SPS insists that the people who wish to stay in a common Yugoslav state in order to perpetuate that state be given an opportunity to do so.

3. The SPS cannot accept that national minorities, such as Albanians and Hungarians, should enjoy the same rights in a future community as those given to the Serbian people in Croatia, because the latter is not a national minority. National minorities will be guaranteed only the rights national minorities enjoy in other European countries.

Vojvodina Town of Sid Attacked 5 Nov

LD0511112891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1041 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Sid, November 5 (TANJUG)—Some ten minutes before 11 a.m. on Tuesday, the town Sid in the Serbian Vojvodina Province was attacked, TANJUG special reporters say. Strong explosions were also heard in the town. Military sources confirmed that a silo near the railway station was hit.

TANJUG reporters also said there was a possibility that the fire had been opened by Croatian para-military formations from the village of Nijemci. This is a Croatian villlage west of Sid and is not under Yugoslav Army control.

The alarm was sounded in Sid and the population was recommended to move to shelters. Church bells could be heard as well as sirens.

Croat Forces Suspected

LD0511132791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Sid, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—At about 1200 [1100 GMT] a danger alert was still in force in Sid. TANJUG special reporters have reported that since 1045, when the attack on it started, the town has been pounded by several dozen artillery shells. It has been unofficially learned that the shells are being fired from the southwest of the town. It is believed unofficially that their source is probably in Lipovac, a village in Croatia, and from Nijemci, which is not controlled by the Yugoslav People's Army units.

The two villages are situated seven to eight kilometers southwest of Sid. The TANJUG crew saw two damaged houses in Sid. According to unofficial reports the town's industrial zone and the medical center were the main targets. The journalists also saw smoke rising from several locations in the town. There are still no reports about the damage in other parts of the town or about any casualties. Telephone communications have been hampered.

Simovic Briefs Assembly

AU0511130991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Statement by Serbian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Tomislav Simovic to the Serbian Assembly on 5 November on the artillery attack on Sid—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed presidium and deputies, at 1120 we were informed that an artillery attack was carried out on Sid with 15 artillery projectiles at 1040. The attack was launched on the broader area around the silo and in the industrial zone. There are some wounded. We are still trying to establish where the artillery attack came from and the caliber of the weapons. Measures to deal with this situation and the direct defense of Sid have been undertaken.

This attack is part of the fascist policy. The attitudes of the Croatian armed forces are such that whenever we spoke about peace and truce they acted in the worst way. They are not satisfied with what is called the administrative border of the Republic of Croatia, but want to attack the territory of the Republic of Serbia. The government will also be briefed on this.

I rushed here to tell you that myself so that you do not have to learn it from the media. Considering the intensive use of telephone lines between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Ministry, between the Center for Information and Monitoring and the Ministry, I am some 40 minutes late in arriving here. This can only be a surprise for the uninformed. I hope that you and the majority of our public are informed. This was not unexpected. Trouble should be expected from the criminals, but one should also be prepared to make this trouble as painless as possible.

This could have been anticipated in view of our relations so far. There will probably be blackmail in The Hague today on the the Yugoslav People's Army blockade of Vukovar and Dubrovnik. They may even make the further course of the talks conditional on the liberation or withdrawal of the forces that are surrounding these two towns.

I hear that some of you have asked for a more complete report on the situation on the battlefields in Yugoslavia. Tomorrow, I will present the report you wanted so as not to degrade you and make a standing report on the information that I have. I will sort the information I consider to be in a way important for our public, too.

[Announcer] Gen. Simovic also answered several questions that the deputies asked from the benches.

[Simovic] We would have perhaps responded had it not been for the fog, and we would have found (?where it is). This was the answer to the question of where they are shooting from. Calibers and ranges are from 27 km to 1 km [as heard], and you will permit me to say that it is not easy to establish that. You know that the attack is prepared with support from Zupanja, probably to join the (?encircled) forces in Vukovar. Probably in the context of this operation, one can count on having many of those so-called demonstration attacks aimed at drawing attention away from the real direction and (?target) of the attack.

Well, certainly, the first proletarian (?Banija) division that is stationed in that region together with the territorial defense forces should carry out special additional reconnaissance operations. Considering the weather situation, they cannot expect [word indistinct] filming from the air, because that cannot be done at the moment. However, as there is an industrial zone here containing certain facilities producing chemical products, I have (?asked for) additional information about whether there is a possibility of any ecological problems, more (?complex) that it may seem at the moment.

If you agree, this will be for the time being.

Government Statement on Attack

AU0511143091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Announcer-read Serbian Government announcement]

[Text] Today, 5 November 1991, at 1040 [0940 GMT], Ustasha artillery fired 15 projectiles against Sid. According to the data received so far, four people have been killed and 12 wounded. The Ustasha forces obviously intended to have the zone of combat activities transferred to the territory of our republic. The Serbian Government has asked the SFRY Presidency and the respective federal organs to take energetic measures to prevent the continuation of this attack, which was in no way provoked. The Serbian Government will take all the necessary measures to protect its territory and population.

Dr. Borivoje Petrovic, vice president of the Serbian National Assembly, and Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Budimir Kosutic have been sent to the site of the attack.

Novi Sad Army Corps Commander Killed in Action

LD0411190291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for National Defense information service announced tonight that at about 1530 today, Major General Mladen Bratic, commander of the Novi Sad Army Corps, was killed among his fighters in the battle frontline. Able, fearless, and an exceptionally liked commander, the statement says Gen. Bratic was among his tank fighters during the fiercest battle actions. He died from an Ustasha missile while carrying out a battle task by his units. [passage omitted]

Government Statement Decries Croatian 'Genocide'

LD0411195391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The Serbian Government warns that unless the current genocide against the Serbs in Croatia stops immediately it will take all necessary measures to protect members of its nation from a renewed genocide, the Serbian Ministry of Information says in a statement today.

The latest bloody crimes and the slaughter of Serbs by the Ustashas in Western Slavonia are yet further evidence of the Croatian authorities' intention to carry out the systematic and ruthless extermination of Serbian population within the administrative borders of Croatia.

In its statement the government goes on to say that the "massacre of unarmed and defenseless Serbian people in Western Slavonia has been carried out by 10,000 members of Croatian paramilitary formations following an ultimatum by the Croatian authorities to the entire population to move out of the territory within 48 hours."

Refugees who reached Bosnia-Hercegovina today speak of gruesome scenes resulting from unprovoked senseless destruction, slaughter and other forms of terror over people and the destruction of everything Serbian. [passage omitted]

The Serbian Government believes that the latest genocide against the Serbs must be stopped by urgent action by relevant federal organs and the SFRY Armed Forces.

In conclusion the government stresses that "the Croatian leadership bears full responsibility for the serious consequences of continued terror over the Serbian population."

Refugees in Vojvodina Ordered To Enlist

LD0411152791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Men liable for military service aged between 20 and 50 who are refugees from Banija, Kordun, and Knin Krajina and who are at the moment residing in the Vojvodina must report immediately to the Slobodan Bajic-Paja barracks in Novi Sad, a statement issued today by the Novi Sad military district command stresses.

The statement says that this call also applies to all students from these areas studying at Novi Sad University. It asserts that the men liable for military service are being called up because general public mobilization is in progress now in the Kordun, Banija, and Knin Krajina areas.

The statement goes on to say that the recruits will be equipped and armed in the barracks and then dispatched to military units in the areas from which they come.

Noncompliance with this public mobilization call represents a criminal offense and criminal proceedings will be held in military courts, the military district command's statement emphasizes.

Serbs in Kosovo Urge General Mobilization

LD0411151991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Pristina, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The Homeland [postojbina] nonparty Serbian association in Pristina has asked that during its session today the Serbian Assembly proclaim a general mobilization of the Serbian people in defense against the genocide threatened by Croatian ustashas. Should such a decision not be passed the association will call on the Serbian people to defend Serbian territory and the Serbian name.

The statement recalls the tragic flights of the Serbian people and points out the organization's lack of confidence in the top military command, which it says is incapable of stopping the genocide of the Orthodox people. It is high time we defended our people and our Serbian territories with our own weapons in our own hands, the Homeland statement says, among other things.

3,000 Croat Serbs Hold Support Rally in Belgrade

LD0511042491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2258 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 4 (TANJUG)—Around 3,000 people attended a rally in central Belgrade today to give support to the Serbs in the parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in which they constitute the majority population in their struggle against fascism and the genocide by the Ustasha authorities.

The Association of Serbs from Croatia, which organized the rally, asked of Serbia to refuse further hospitality to the able-bodied refugees from Croatia. There are around 3,500 refugees in Belgrade from Western Slavonia alone.

Vladimir Bosic, the president of the War Assembly in the Western Slavonian town of Pakrac, asked for Serbian aid, primarily in weaponry, because "you fight tanks with tanks and not with guns."

Reports came in yesterday of Croatian armed formations, which outnumber and outgun the Serbian territorial units, having burned own 18 villages in Western Slavonia and massacred their Serbian population.

Retired General Dusan Pekic blamed the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) for surrendering one-third of its war materiel to Croatian forces and knuckling under to Croatia's secessionism. Every mention of the JNA drew cries of "treason" from the assembled multitude.

The Association of Serbs from Croatia yesterday organized a rally outside JNA headquarters in Belgrade, calling for the resignation of Federal Defence Minister Gen. Veljko Kadijevic.

Radomir Smiljanic, a writer, criticized the European Community and asked of the Yugoslav State Presidency to invest efforts through the Soviet Union and China for the question of aggression on Yugoslavia to be put on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council.

BORBA Foresees Republic Government Reshuffle

LD0211082791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 1 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA on Friday quotes "unofficial sources" as saying that in a possible government reshuffle in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Premier Dragutin Zelenovic may be replaced by Radoman Bozovic, current premier of the republic's province of Vojvodina. "According to some assessments, the entire government would fall with Zelenovic," points out the daily, recalling a recent statement by one of the deputy premiers, Budimir Kosutic, that "competent persons from different parties would enter the government" as part of the reshuffle.

"The opposition has not been consulted on a possible reconstruction of the government," Milenko Radic, legal adviser of the strongest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, told BORBA. The daily recalls that the the question of government reconstruction was first raised by the opposition as early as this summer.

The article cites "certain unofficial announcements on the departure of Information Minister Ratomir Vico,"

who, in the daily's view, "has made access to some sources of information considerably difficult for journalists."

BORBA also yesterday published "unofficial information" about the resignation of Serbian Deputy Premier Slobodan Prohaska. The resignations of Deputy Premier Velimir Radivojevic and Education Minister Dimitrije Dimitrijevic have been accepted since the Serbian Government's election last February.

Lt.-General Tomislav Simovic replaced Rear Admiral Miodrag Jokic as defence minister, Zoran Sokolovic succeeded Radmilo Bogdanovic as interior minister, well-known Yugoslav basketball player Dragan Kicanovic took over from Goran Trivan as minister of sports and youth affairs, and Vladislav Jovanovic became foreign minister in place of Branko Mikasinovic. Kosutic is also a newcomer in the Serbian Government. Culture Minister Radomir Saranovic, Labour Minister Branko Jesic and Health Minister Nikola Mitrovic have also offered to resign.

Democratic Party Proposes Creation of New States

LD0411161391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 4 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party, one of the most influential opposition parties in Serbia, has sent a memorandum to the Hague conference proposing that new states and regions be created on the territory of present Yugoslavia and that the multi-ethnic republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina be regionalized.

The memorandum, published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA today, urges that Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia be recognized as independent states within their present borders. Croatia would also be recognized as an independent state, but only after demarcating the predominantly Serb-populated territories. Demarcation would be carried out in keeping with the ethnic principle as well as other principles of international community, which would be discussed at a separate peace conference.

The memorandum proposes that Bosnia-Hercegovina be regionalized in keeping with the ethnic principle. As set out this republic cannot be a national state, since not one of the three constituent nations make up the majority of the republic's population. Region-states which would be formed in parts of present Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia would freely decide on the character of their inter-state association and a possible allying with other state units.

The memorandum said the principle of regionalization could not be transferred to other republics, because this would destabilize the entire Balkans and draw into conflicts also bordering countries—Hungary, Albania and Bulgaria.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Expects Progress at Hague Conference

AU0511095491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] On the eve of the continuation of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague tomorrow, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, tonight said on Sarajevo Television that he expects some new progress. He also said that he does not think that anything dramatic or decisive will happen tomorrow.

Izetbegovic holds the view that one more round of talks will most probably be needed. Answering journalists' question on whether he will demand something for the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said that he will most probably present the latest problems in Bosnia-Hercegovina, concluding that what the Hague document is offering is quite sufficient for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnia Krajina Calls for General Mobilization

AU0411214491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Because of the situation in Western Slavonia, the Presidium of the Bosnian Krajina autonomous region today demanded that the SFRY Presidency declare general mobilization in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro and order a campaign of total war, using all possible military means, including the Air Force. If the Presidency of Yugoslavia does not implement this demand immediately, the Presidency of the autonomous region Krajina will start the unification process of all Krajinas and begin organizing for self defense, it is said in the report distributed to journalists today.

Bosnian Serbs Finalize Referendum Preparations

AU0411102591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] The participants in a consultative meeting of the leaderships of ten Sarajevo communes held a discussion on the plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina scheduled for 9 and 10 November. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly, and other officials also took part in the work of the meeting.

It was said that an action was launched to enable all Serbs who were born in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but live in other republics and abroad, to vote in the referendum. Military organs will also be asked to allow soldiers to vote. Members of the Serbian nationality, it was said, will vote for staying in Yugoslavia with blue ballots, while other citizens, Muslims, Croats, and other people who are in favor of remaining in Yugoslavia, will vote with yellow ballots. At the proposal of its main committee, the Sarajevo City Committee of the Serbian

Democratic Party decided to hold a meeting for Yugoslavia in the big Zetra Hall in Sarajevo on Thursday, 7 November.

Northern Bosnia Serbian Autonomous Region Set Up

LD0411220191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Doboj, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—A constitutive session was held in Doboj (Central Bosnia) this evening of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Northern Bosnia (Srpska Autonomna Oblast [SAO] Sjeverna Bosna). Nikola Perisic was elected president of the assembly and Milovan Bjelosevic and Blagoje Simic will be the assembly's vice presidents. A resolution was passed declaring the SAO of Northern Bosnia an inseparable part of Yugoslavia.

The SAO of Northern Bosnia comprises the Serbian people living in the municipalities of Doboj, Teslic, Tesanj, Maglaj, Zavidovici, Derventa, Modrica, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Samac, Orasje, Gracanica, Lukavac, Banovici, Gradacac, Srebrenik, and Zivinice. The seat of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Northern Bosnia will be in Doboj.

Ugljevik Muslims View Autonomous Region Call

LD0211041791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Bijeljina, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—All representatives of settlements with the Muslim population on Ugljevik municipality territory attended a gathering last night in Teocik and concluded that "they do not recognize the illegal proclamation of the so-called autonomous region of northeast Bosnia with the seat in Ugljevik." The citizens also called on the Party for Democratic Action (SDA) leadership to organize as soon as possible a referendum on secession from the current municipality and to set up a temporary assembly of the Muslim people and "make a separation balance with Ugljevik." The first decision of this kind in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be made in Janja on 2 November, when a temporary Janja municipal assembly will be constituted, whereby this municipality will secede from the Bijeljina municipality as a reaction to the regionalization of northeast Bosnia.

The Bijeljina SDA city board announced in a statement for the public that it will set up a Bijeljina town municipality. The SDA board at the same time appealed to party members "to retain calm and dignity vis-a-vis the unilateral decision of the Serbian Democratic Party to form the northeast Bosnia region and, thus, show their committment to democracy, which is needed in times of trouble."

Muslim Information Agency Inaugurated in Sarajevo

LD0411182891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—In line with a conclusion by the Islamic community of Yugoslavia reached on 8 October, the MUSLIM INFORMATION AGENCY, MINA, was launched in Sarajevo today. The opening of the agency, set up as part of the Islamic community's highest body, was marked by transmitting to the world the first issue of an information bulletin, the Council of Elders says in a statement. MINA's main objective is to inform the public at home and abroad about the position of Muslims in Yugoslavia including its religious, cultural, and political aspects as well as about the activities of the Islamic community.

Macedonia

Foreign Minister Urges EC Recognition of Macedonia

AU0511114791 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Presenting his report to the members of the commissions for foreign questions and for relations with foreign countries, Dr. Denko Malevski, minister for relations with foreign countries, said that the conference in The Hague has again found itself at the beginning because all options are in play.

Since Europe recognizes the law as a method of solving conflicts and not force, Malevski pointed out that the Macedonian delegation has found itself on the (?correct) road. Its stand remains unchanged—recognition of the sovereign state of Macedonia on the part of Europe and readiness to cooperate in (?creating) associations, something that would represent a Macedonian contribution to integration processes on the continent.

Gligorov Returns From Libya, Comments on Visit

AU0411152391 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, has ended his two-day official and working visit to the Great Jamahiriyah at the invitation of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and returned home tonight.

President Gligorov was welcomed by Stojan Andov, president of the Macedonian Assembly, Dr. Blaze Ristovski, vice president of the Macedonian Government, Dr. Denko Malevski, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials at Petrovec airport near Skopje tonight.

Here is what President Gligorov said for Macedonian radio, television, and the press about his two-day visit to Tripoli and the talks which he held with the top officials

of the Great Jamahiriyah together with Jovan Andonov, vice president of the Macedonian Government:

[Begin Gligorov recording] This was a working visit and in this respect I think that we accomplished our task. On our arrival (?the night before last) I held a long talk with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, president of the Jamahiriyah and leader of the Libyan revolution. The two delegations, the Libyan and Macedonia delegations, met this morning. The main topic of the conversation was economic cooperation in a number of fields. During the talk the two sides presented concrete proposals regarding scientific-technical cooperation, cooperation in education, because there was some interest in this field, then in health matters, and so forth.

Our firms have been there for 15 years already and enjoy a certain reputation. The other aim was to secure more ventures for them if at all possible. They are finalizing all their (?current) work and will now be in a position to involve themselves deeper in some new projects considering that, as known, Libya is one of the regions where there are large investment activities. And finally, another important issue for us, our firms that are there enjoy considerable trust and I think that they will solve the problem for the benefit of all our firms.

In the talks with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi we discussed views on the situation in Yugoslavia and Macedonia. We confirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination. He is also ready to cooperate with Macedonia with this aspect in mind, and to recognize it. So, I think that we have found some kind of understanding and created some possibilities for cooperation there, and some possibilities for our firms to solve some of their problems in these difficult times. [end recording]